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ABSTRACT

This anthology of essays, impressions, and sketches attempts to reassess the role of women in the development of public higher education in Wisconsin, especially in the setting of the University of Wisconsin (UW) System. The essays provide a female perspective from the post Civil War days to today. Some essays focus on the beginnings of the co-education movement; some offer recollections of women who came to teach at UW and were important to current members of the UW System; and some provide oral histories of students and teachers. Teachers whose contributions are fondly recalled include Emily Webster, Margaret H'Doubler, Gladys L. Borchers, Helen C. White, Hilda Belle Oxby, Emma Lou Wilder, Bessie May Allen, Agnes Jones, Ruth B. Glassow, Helen Clarke, Edith J. Cartwright, Mary Elizabeth Smith, and Germaine Bree. Other essays include: "Co-education 1849-1909: They Came To Stay" (Jean Droste); "Women at Wisconsin: 1909-1939" (Ellen D. Langill); "Women in Industrial Education" (Marcia Harycki); "Women in the Extension Center in Milwaukee" (Elisabeth Holmes); "Educated Daughters and Sisters" (Agate and Harry Krouse); "Voices from Eau Claire: Three Generations of Teachers" (Ellen Last); and "In Their Own Words" (Laura Smail and Donna Taylor). Some essays contain references. (JDD)

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Volume I
University Women
A Series of Essays
University of Wisconsin System

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THEY CAME TO LEARN

THEY CAME TO TEACH

THEY CAME TO STAY

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UNIVERSITY WOMEN
A Series of Essays
Volume I

Editors: Marian J. Swoboda, Ph.D.
Audrey J. Roberts, Ph.D.

Cover Design: Patricia J. Clark, M.F.A.

Introduction: M. Susan Beck, Ph.D.

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PREFACE

The emergence of women as a vocal and visible political force in the 1970's, the rise in academia of special programs in the study of women, and a raised social consciousness to the inequities women face in higher education have all been contributing factors in an historical reassessment of the role of women in the development of American educational institutions.

This series of three monographs attempts to reassess the role of women in the development of public higher education in Wisconsin. The monographs —

Volume 1: *They Came to Learn, They Came to Teach, They Came to Stay*
Volume 2: *Wisconsin Women, Graduate School, and the Professions*
Volume 3: *Women Emerge in the Seventies*

— are not conventional history, but anthologies of essays, impressions, and sketches dealing with the far and immediate pasts. The essays provide a female perspective on Wisconsin public higher education from the post Civil War days to today. One notices in reading the pieces a perpetuation of concerns: academic rank and promotion differences between men and women, salary inequities, marginal participation in university governance and administration, conflicts between social and career roles. One notes, as well, the varying responses to an on-going situation, responses that vary from acceptance to outrage.

The setting for these essays is the University of Wisconsin System, a federation of public higher education institutions in the State of Wisconsin. The System was formed in 1971 by legislative action merging the University of Wisconsin and the Wisconsin State Universities.

The former University of Wisconsin included the historical land-grant university at Madison, founded in 1849; the urban university at Milwaukee formed in 1956 through the merger of the former Wisconsin State College in Milwaukee and the University of Wisconsin Extension Center in Milwaukee; and two new universities created at Parkside and Green Bay in 1969.

The former Wisconsin State Universities consisted of nine universities which grew out of state normal schools established in Wisconsin between 1866 and 1916. They subsequently moved to state teacher college status then to state colleges and eventually became state universities.

The end result of this evolution of public higher education in Wisconsin is a System of 13 universities and 14 two-year centers plus the renowned extension service founded in 1891. As these three monographs demonstrate, women have played an influential part in the development of higher education in Wisconsin. Until now women's participation has been expressed primarily as footnotes to history. These essays begin to redress this inequity.

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INTRODUCTION

This brief introductory essay is an exercise in intellectual history. History may well be a "romantic art" as David Levin suggests: it is, as here conceived, some kind of "art" whether romantic or not. By "art" is meant the symbolic construction of order which describes or explains a perceived reality.

History shares with other disciplines a commitment to certain methodologies, values, and principles of selection. For example, one can study the history of woman diachronically by tracing developments in a decade or a century of co-education. Some of the pieces in this book do just that. One can also study history synchronically, as an assumed frozen moment, to uncover a "climate of opinion."

As Eric Weil wrote in "Humanistic Studies: Their Object, Methods, and Meaning" (Daedalus, Spring 1970), "the historian has to reconstruct the human reality he is interested in; to construct out of his given materials what Max Weber called ideal types, consistent fundamental attitudes, value systems and worlds that never existed in ideal purity, but that furnish us with the measuring rods by means of which, reality, always mixed and confused, may be understood." In particular, this essay focuses on the turn of the century ideal educated woman, and establishes a context of values within which she worked — or thought she worked. This essay attempts to do that by coming to terms with the period from the Civil War to World War I in which women really began to participate in important ways in American education.

Before the Civil War, American education was in the service of the church and the classicists. Young men were sent to Harvard, to Yale, to Princeton to learn the medieval curriculum, based in Latin, that would train them to be clergy or schoolmasters for the next generation of aspiring scholars. The pre-collegiate education system was rightly called the "grammar school" for here, under the tutelage of the schoolmaster who comprised 85% of the American teachers, young students learned the basics of Latin grammar.

But, change was afoot.... revolutionary change. With the spread westward of population groups, with the availability of free land, with the spread of democratic fervor linked, as it was, to Methodism as recorded by Richard Niebuhr in *The Kingdon of God in America*, a need was felt for a less "elitist" education. Frontier schools grew up; land grant universities were founded; the normal school concept was born; English replaced Latin as the language and subject of the classroom; and by 1865, the school*master* was replaced by the school*marm* who now held 85% of the teaching positions in America. As the flag and the Bible moved west, so did the English primer and Webster's dictionary.

By 1880, the United States was in the midst of the Industrial Revolution, the labor force being supplied principally by Civil War veterans, farm workers no longer employed by increasingly mechanized farms, and immigrants. The frontier was closing, although Indian wars and the discovery of mineral mines

in the Midwest and West and the development of large cattle ranges kept some westward movement going. American foreign policy was becoming increasingly imperialistic with the opening up of the Pacific islands and China and the Spanish American War.

More importantly, for understanding the role of the educated women during the period marked by 1880 and concluded by World War I, is an understanding of the effect of urbanization upon the American mind and the development, as a consequence of urbanization, of progressivism as a political style.

The urbanization of America was not a painless process. With the development of cities came abject poverty, slums, inappropriate working conditions for both women and children, and reform movements that grew to address the problem. Jane Addams founded Hull House, the Salvation Army and the YMCA were formed, and social services sprang up. Interestingly, these "missions" were not taken up by the organized churches, for the churches themselves were in the midst of a revolution. Faced with Darwinism, the study of comparative religions, and anti-literal interpretations of the Bible, American churches began to secularize.

Let us add to the cultural picture the educational renaissance and a thesis shall begin to develop about the role of the educated woman. Kindergartens were introduced into the St. Louis school system in 1873 and spread rapidly; grammar school education was made compulsory; high schools had swelled to 6,000 by 1900. According to Ray Allen Billington, these schools were possible because of the recognition of teaching as a profession and the establishment of normal schools in all states. An articulator of the times who argued the importance of education was John Dewey who held that the function of the teacher was to provide an environment which would effect informed and democratic behavior. In addition, universities began to change. Normal Schools trained teachers, the Morrill Act made the establishment of agricultural colleges possible, curriculum changed to place greater emphasis on practical rather than classical subjects, and graduate/professional training widened. This, plus the tax supported libraries, constituted the education renaissance.

Now, who was to clear out the slums, tame the wildness of western cities, and teach the children and the Normal School teachers? The educated American woman, of course, who combined a calling which, in another day may have made her a religious, and a social and nurturing responsibility. As Winifred Bolin writes in *Women of Minnesota*, "the combination of schoolteacher and missionary was a nineteenth century innovation, the product of a changing society that endowed womanhood with special responsibilities for maintaining civilization in the towns and cities of the East and for establishing it in the rude communities of the West." Further, it was assumed that teachers and wives "would be guardians of morality, the purveyors of moral uplift." Thus, if one chose not to be a wife, one could perform the same culturally approved roles as a schoolteacher who became a kind of secularized nun.

The restrictions on educated women during this period which celebrated the cult of true womanhood and viewed women as graced with piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity were great. Because man held, as Sister Karen Kennelly writes, again in *Women of Minnesota*, that women's brains

were "undeveloped and uncomplicated" and that academic study would make women "unfit for motherhood and upset the natural order of things," the beginnings of the co-education movement were not easy. The beginnings of the co-education movement are the subject of Part One of this book — THEY CAME TO LEARN.

Those women who survived undergraduate and graduate training and CAME TO TEACH in the University of Wisconsin System are heralded in Part Two of this book. These essays are neither inclusive nor definitive; some worthy women were excluded for wont of a biographer; some are not represented because of the limits of space. The essays tend to be fond recollections of women important to current members of the University System and are "stimulation" pieces that hope to encourage further work.

The reader will note certain characteristics shared by these professional women who were "called" to their "mission" of teaching. For these women, juggling a career and a family was not a viable option; these women chose to teach rather than to marry. Early in the century, in fact, teachers' contracts bore the stipulation that marriage would void the employment agreement. Thus, unmarried women teachers formed little communities that set them apart from the unmarried women of the towns in which they taught.

Like their religious counter-parts, many of these women, although aware of the suffrage movement around them, were not active in the political world and bore their burden of poverty very well. For many of these underpaid and unpromoted women, teaching was doing what they liked or felt the need to do.

1. Coeducation 1849-1909: They Came to Stay

by Jean Droste

In some respects the struggle for undergraduate coeducation at the University of Wisconsin took on the aspects of a melodrama with university President Paul Chadbourne as the villain and President John Bascom as the hero. Yet the real catalyst for the acceptance of coeducation at the university was the effect of the Civil War on student enrollment. Because the war drained the small university of students, the Regents realized that they had to discover some method of bolstering the steadily decreasing matriculation. By admitting women into the university the Regents were able to increase the number of students very quickly. Thus it was chiefly a practical need rather than theoretical considerations about women's education that gave Wisconsin women their first opportunity to enter the university. The war, coupled with the desire on the part of Wisconsinites to educate their teachers, eventually led to full acceptance of women at the university.

Fortunately, the characteristics of state universities were especially adaptable to coeducation. The spirit for social leveling prevailing in the nineteenth century extended to the university and the belief was strongly held that everyone should have a right to gain a college education regardless of background. Such a policy tended to enhance women's chances for education at the universities. In addition, some people felt that the presence of righteous, God-fearing women would diminish the non-religious tone of the "Godless university." Another reason for the more ready acceptance of women at Wisconsin and other state-supported institutions was that these were young schools that needed students. Besides, western state universities did not have the large and conservative alumni bodies that retarded the establishment of coeducation in the East.

The entrance of women into the University of Wisconsin followed a pattern familiar to many midwestern and western univerisites. Men and women first attended preparatory or normal departments which often held their classes in college buildings. The women were not formally enrolled in college but they were allowed to sit in on some of the classes. After the women had had a taste of college education, sometimes they made a formal application in order to be admitted to the regular college classes. If they were accepted, coeducation had begun. With a few exceptions the University of Wisconsin did not veer sharply from the standard pattern.

Though the first attempts to establish the University of Wisconsin began in 1836 it was not until 26 July 1848, after Wisconsin became a state, that the first state legislature passed an act incorporating the university and appointing a Board of Regents.[1] On 5 February 1849, in a room temporarily provided for by citizens of Madison, the university had its meager beginning when Professor Sterling instructed a preparatory class of seventeen men.[2] John Lathrop, the former president of the University of Missouri, was inaugurated in January 1850, and the first university class formed on 4 August 1850.[3]

Biology Class
Milwaukee Normal School

PART ONE

THEY CAME TO LEARN

Many of the earlier settlers in Wisconsin felt that higher education was completely unnecessary. Too busy developing the new country, they had little time left over to consider intellectual pursuits. Both the legislators and the people of the state feared that the university would offer superior advantages to some of the wealthy and sophisticated.[4]

Though higher education interested only a select few in the mid-nineteenth century, practically everyone was interested in providing well-trained teachers for the public school system. The Normal Department was started in 1849 by the Board of Regents to meet the demands of the people of the state for the training of men (not women) to teach in the common schools. A well-trained corps of teachers would answer the criticism that the university had no practical relation to the needs of Wisconsin citizens.[5] The Regents felt that popular interest in the Normal Department would eventually lead to state support of the university.[6] By putting the Normal School on the top priority list, the university hoped to obtain part of the state school fund for the support of the Normal School.[7] Though women were not included in initial plans for the Normal School, in 1850 the Regents expressed their aims for the future. They hoped that the Normal Department would "be made to embrace suitable provisions for the professional instruction of Female Teachers; the plan is already under consideration and will mature at an early day."[8]

In 1857 the Regents again stated their intent to open the way for the admission of women, not only to the Normal Department, but to other departments of the university as well. "It may be alleged," the Regents stated, "that public sentiment in Wisconsin is not yet ripe for dispensing with separate female schools; still the Board deem it right to prepare to meet the wishes of those parents who desire University culture for their daughters, by extending to all such privileges of the Institution."[9]

Many thought that the election of Henry Barnard, a well-known educator, to the presidency of the university would advance the cause of the Normal Department and coeducation. Barnard, greatly interested in Normal Instruction, felt that the state of Wisconsin had made liberal provisions for such instruction; for the short time he occupied the chief administrator's chair he devoted his energies to establishing more teacher training in the state.[10] Barnard, who was to have direct charge of the instruction in the Normal School, became ill, would not give the normal class lectures, and the teaching fell into other hands.[11]

In April 1860 the first women were admitted to the university when thirty women and twenty-nine men entered the Normal Department for a special ten-week course of lectures. By the end of the year, however, the university suspended the Normal Department.[12]

In the winter term of 1862-63 there were only twelve students of college grade enrolled in the classical course and seventeen in the scientific course. With the inclusion of the preparatory department pupils the total university enrollment was only sixty-three. Fearing that the Civil War would continue to drain away men students and that the university might be left without any students at all, the Regents agreed to again admit women to the Normal Department. Classes resumed again, however, in the spring of 1863 when Professor Charles Allen, agent of the Board of Regents for the Normal Schools of the state, took over the professorship of the Normal School.[13]

Although the Regents had expressed their intentions to make educational provisions for women at the University as early as 1850, not until the exigencies of the Civil War forced them into action, did they make a definite move. After all, there could be no university if there were no students.

James L. High, a student at the time, described the new women students as coming like an "army with banners, conquering and to conquer . . . with bewitching curls, and dimpled cheeks, and flowing robes, and all the panoply of feminine adornment. Worst of all," said High, "they came to stay."[14]

If enrollment was any indication, the opening of the Normal Department was a resounding success. In the spring of 1863, 112 students, 76 of whom were women, enrolled in the Normal School. Students of the Normal Department had the privilege of attending lectures at the university in addition to Normal School classes, but the rest of their work was completely separate from the regular university.[15] One woman student felt the first years of the Normal School were of questionable value, but she felt it improved as it grew older. In 1865 the Normal Department occupied the lower floor of what is now Bascom Hall and it "resembled a graded school in its content . . . . It is regrettable to admit that in the early years the presence of women was rather a matter of necessity than of choice and justice, for the Civil War had so depleted the student ranks that the University was in danger of having 'finis' prematurely written in its career on account of the small registration."[16]

The Normal Department was short-lived; in 1865, after two years of operations, its director, Charles Allen, resigned to serve in the Union army. With his resignation the faculty suggested that the Regents combine the Normal Department with the preparatory department or drop it altogether. The Regents chose the first alternative and in 1866 the state legislature provided for the admission of women to all departments of the university.[17]

Coeducation had been achieved chiefly through expediency and the support of some state legislators and Regents. Just as expediency had given women their first chance for education at Wisconsin, it also produced a serious setback when the Regents approached Dr. Paul Chadbourne of Williams College to be the new president. Chadbourne objected to certain provisions of the 1866 reorganization act of the university. He felt the Normal School was better provided for with state funds than the university and, therefore, it would be unwise to use university monies for it. He felt that, in the opinion of the great majority of the best educators in the country, coeducation had not brought good results in the education of either sex. If the university brought together boys and girls from all over the country three or four times a day for four years "you have an element of incalcuable mischief introduced into the institution."[18]

Chadbourne was convinced that women should follow a different course of instruction than men. He felt that the university would lose rank if the university authorities introduced coeducation. "A state institution ought to be so organized," Chadbourne continued, "that all can have its advantages, while according to this law, (the coeducational provision of the 1866 reorganization act), none can have its advantages unless they believe in the mixed system of college education . . . . I can hardly believe, that a majority of the Regents, indeed any of them, would choose such an institution for the education of their sons and daughters, or that a majority of the people of the state would desire such a system, if the question were fairly argued before

them. But the law *is a presumption that they do desire it.*"[19] (Chadbourne's italics)

Chadbourne won; in 1867 the legislature changed the reorganization law so that the Board of Regents would admit women to the university under the regulations and restrictions that the Board would determine.[20]

In 1867, the Regents hired Chadbourne and on the new president's recommendation the Regents abolished the Normal Department and established the Female College.[21] The Female College was a unique college in the history of the university. It had its own building and separate classes. The curriculum provided for the study of music and fine arts, stressing the old-fashioned view of the purpose of women's education. The college was so unpopular that one of its students said she favored coeducation only if it was not connected with the Female College.[22] Another student in the college, Jennie Field Bashford, who later became president of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, described the Female College. Writing in 1874 about her experience she said, "In those days the old notion of women's inferiority to man had not yet been exploded and the feminine mind was kept in a constant state of irritation by the subordinate position assigned to it at the University." Mrs. Bashford protested against the inadequate curriculum, the inferior instruction, and restrictive rules and regulations for women. She felt a "strong opposition to such treatment and a general dissatisfaction with the position of women."[23]

Another student at the time, Helen Chynoweth, commented on the conditions in the Female College. "Under the sage guidance of Miss Earle, the lovable preceptress of the female department, we marched sedately into some one of the men's lecture halls, apparently unsafe for unchaperoned girls. Here ensconced in a corner by ourselves we absorbed what notes and knowledge we could. We were never quizzed in a joint section possibly on the theological ground that women should keep silent before men as well as in the church, so the lecturer came to our recitation room and examined us to discover how much we had been able to retain of the information given us under the distracting surroundings of the presence of men."[24]

The Female College Commencement exercises proved to be a problem. By 1869 six women had completed the course of the Female College, and the question was raised as to which kind of degree they should receive. On a resolution of the Board of Regents the degrees for women were made the same as those given men and in 1869, despite Chadbourne's reported objection that he would never be guilty of the absurdity of calling young women bachelors, the six women graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy.[25]

In 1870 after Chadbourne left the university the administrator's policy began to change. In the interregnum between the presidencies of Chadbourne and John Twombly, men and women recited together because there were not enough teachers to conduct separate classes.[26]

In 1871 at an address before the Female College, the newly chosen president, John Twombly, emphasized that thirty college presidents had already testified to the ability of ladies to do intellectual work. Twombly, agreeing with the 1871 Board of Regents said that it was a waste of time and effort to have separate facilities for men and women.[27] The same positive attitude was presented in the Board of Visitors' Report which suggested that if the college

eliminated the Female College the professors would save time and it would "doubtless accord with general public sentiment." [28]

In 1871, the Regents abolished the Female College and in the fall of that year both men and women entered upon the same curriculum. The Regents felt that "Wisconsin was far in advance of her sister states in the noble provision which she is making for higher education of her daughters."[29]

In 1871, a grant of $50,000, the first general appropriation from the state to the university, was given to build a women's dormitory. The building was first called "Ladies' Hall," but afterwards the university authorities named it Chadbourne Hall much "to the amusement," one alumna reported, "of some alumnae and the consternation of others with more reverence for historical associations."[30]

In 1872 the Board of Visitors reiterated their belief in coeducation. "We hold that every human being has a natural and inalienable right to cultivate and use as circumstances permit, the powers and faculties which the Creator has bestowed. Woman possesses a rational soul, and in this very fact she has a Divine warrant for the exercise and improvement of her powers." The Visitors strongly believed that a woman was entitled to whatever knowledge she could use. "Her development should be limited only by her capacities and opportunities." She should learn whatever would make her "wiser and better."[31]

In 1873 separate recitations were held in some subjects, as the Regents expressed doubts about the mixing of men and women in college classes. They felt that the experiment of coeducational recitation had demonstrated that the ladies' mental power was equal to that of the young men, yet they said that only the future could determine whether over a period of years, the strain on their mental faculties might be too much for them and they would prove themselves unequal to the males in endurance.[32] On 21 January 1874, the Board of Regents passed a resolution in which they formally recognized the principle of coeducation. The 1874 July Commencement was the last one in which men and women graduated separately.[33]

The male editor of the 1874 class history remarked favorably on the entrance of women into the university. He praised the university for its progressive spirit and complimented the "dozen ambitious ladies" who "stimulated with the prospect of obtaining an education as broad and as deep as their brothers boldly assailed the arduous duties of a college course which they have now completed with credit to themselves and joy to the champions of coeducation."[34] In comparison with the Visitors and the men in the class, the faculty was not enthusiastic about the new coeducational plan.[35] Some of the professors felt their department would be discredited in the eyes of the public if women in the department received all the honors. The departments competed with each other for the number of men they could register, but apologized for the number of women they had to receive.[36]

The proponents of coeducation received a boost when John Bascom became president of the university. In Bascom's term of office which ran from 1874 to 1887, coeducation at the University of Wisconsin was firmly established.

Bascom had long been a proponent of coeducation. When at Williams College he was chiefly responsible for the minority report of a faculty committee on coeducation that declared that if the mind of a woman was underfed and dwarfed, then the minds of her children would also be enfeebled.

Society, Bascom believed, would gain as much as woman herself if ladies were permitted a broad and ample education. To Bascom the most important test of public education was the extent to which it gave every human being the opportunity to develop his or her capacities to the fullest extent. In a democracy, education must be open to all.[37]

Despite Bascom's liberal views toward women's education, some still had to be convinced. In January 1877, the Board of Visitors, whose composition was different from that of the earlier and more liberal Boards, reported concern about the health of women students at the university.[38] They believed that since women were at a disadvantage at certain times they had to work much harder at other times to regain lost ground. "It is this very condition of bloodlessness which is so noticeable in women of the University at this time; the sallow features, the pearly whiteness of the eye, the lack of color, the want of physical development in the majority, and an absolute expression of anaemia in very many of the women students, all indicate that demands are made upon them which they cannot meet." The Visitors questioned the advisability of coeducation because of the detrimental effect they felt it had on the health of female students. They were not against educating women, but they felt it would be better that the "future matrons of the state should be without a University training than that it should be procured at the fearful expense of ruined health."[39]

To remedy the situation the Visitors described, Regent Horatio Winslow introduced a resolution that the Regents restore the Female College. The Regents referred the subject to a committee and in June the Regents reported against the resolution. The Regents then appointed a special faculty committee to investigate the Visitor's report, and on 20 November 1877, the committee reported that in the experience of the faculty it had not proved unsuccessful or unwise to unite the sexes in the classroom. To separate the sexes, they asserted, would cause increased expenditure, lower the standards of scholarship, and be out of harmony with the forward movements of the age. In addition, the committee believed, the desirability of coeducation had already been demonstrated at other institutions.[40] In order to avoid any future accusations on health grounds, the committee proposed the adoption of a six-year course to enable sickly women to decrease their study load, and to enable students to take instruction in music and painting because the regular course did not allow enough time for such instruction.[41]

President Bascom approved the faculty report. He felt the health of the women students was as good as that of the men, and he believed the Board of Visitors had only seen exceptional cases. Bascom felt that it was ironic that nobody questioned the health of women who did extremely hard work in such professions as housekeeping and teaching.[42]

In 1878 another Board of Visitors' report stated (with only one dissent) that its view on coeducation was in accord with those of the Regents.[43] And by 1884 President Bascom wrote that "co-education is with us wholly successful. There is no difference of opinion concerning it, either in our faculty or our board...It does not seem to us to be any longer an open question. The advantages of the system are manifold; the evils are none. We have ceased to think about its fitness save as questions from abroad redirect our attention to it."[44] In 1892 the editor of the *Daily Cardinal* wrote in favor of coeducation. The student felt the presence of women in the classroom "certainly

stimulates a healthy rivalry and gives young men a broader view on the ability of women to care for themselves." He concluded that "co-education has passed the experimental stage and women have demonstrated their right to share in the benefits of higher education as well as in other pursuits."[45]

The next controversy regarding coeducation occurred in 1907 and 1908 when President Charles Van Hise suggested that certain courses should be offered to women only. Dr. Richard Ely, professor of economics, had raised the issue with Van Hise. In women's colleges the subject of political economy was popular, said Ely, and he felt that if he introduced a course in political economy for women only, perhaps it would encourage more women to enroll. Van Hise reported that two history professors, Dana C. Munro and Alfred L. P. Dennis, had said that women preferred segregated quiz sections and that they were afraid to take classes which were known as "men's courses."[46]

Defenders of coeducation, notably Helen Remington Olin, class of 1875 and wife of a Madison lawyer, viewed Van Hise's proposed action as a blow to coeducation and carried the matter to the press. She published a pamphlet called "Shall Wisconsin Remain a Co-educational Institution?" and chaired a committee of Madison alumni whose purpose was to fight Van Hise's action. The committee sent a petition to Wisconsin alumni and to the Regents which read: "Resolved, by the undersigned graduates of the Wisconsin University that we consider such a movement prejudicial to the best interest of the University in general, and its women students in particular, and that we think it would tend to discredit education everywhere, and most seriously limit the opportunities of women in all public educational institutions."[47]

Van Hise was not prepared for the turmoil that his proposal created. He felt his view had been misrepresented by Helen Olin and stated again and again that his purpose had not been to reintroduce segregation of the sexes at the university. He said that "the public has been informed that the principle of co-education is at stake. Apparently this principle is regarded as so sacred as to preclude the discussion of any practical co-educational problem in the University." The faculty committee appointed to study the problem agreed that Van Hise's proposal did not involve the general subject of coeducation which had been a policy of the university for years.[48] Yet the issue became so publicized as a coeducational question that the governor of Wisconsin, Robert LaFollette, and his wife, Belle LaFollette, wrote a letter to the Board of Regents stating that they "should regret to see the University of Wisconsin take any step that might directly or indirectly be construed as a recognition for the principle of segregation."[49]

With such formidable adversaries, the Regents dismissed Van Hise's suggestion for the separation of the sexes and in June 1908 stated that they were opposed to any type of sex segregation. They said that they favored co-education without modification and that they would not tolerate any discrimination on account of sex in the granting of scholarships, fellowships or any other position in any of the colleges or departments of the university.[50]

The last attempt at even a partial segregation of the sexes had received a resounding defeat. In 1909 the provision that the "university shall be open to female as well as male students under such regulations and restrictions as the Board of Regents may deem proper" was deleted and the Regents added the following section: "all schools and colleges of the University shall, in their respective departments and class exercises, be open without distinction to stu-

dents of both sexes."[31] By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century the Regents had finally put the coeducational question to rest.

Notes to Chapter 1

1 Benjamin F. Andrews, "The Land Grant of 1862 and the Land-Grant Colleges," *US Bureau of Education* Bulletin 13, 1918, p. 53.

2 J. F. A. Pyre, *Wisconsin*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1920), p. 143.

3 William Francis Allen and David E. Spencer, "Higher Education in Wisconsin," *US Bureau of Education*. Circular of Information 1, 1889, p. 21.

4 Pyre, p. 143.

5 Helen Remington Olin, *The Women of a State University*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), pp. 11-12.

6 Pyre, p. 105.

7 Pyre, p. 143.

8 Annual Report of the Board of Regents, 16 January 1850, University of Wisconsin Archives, p. 9.

9 Annual Report of the Board of Regents, 1 January 1857, University of Wisconsin Archives, pp. 11-12.

10 Pyre, pp. 118-119.

11 Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The University of Wisconsin: Its History and Alumni, 1836-1900*. (Madison: J. N. Purcell, 1900), p. 63.

12 Annie Nathan Meyer, ed., *Woman's Work in America*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1915), p. 74.

13 Pyre, p. 152.

14 As quoted in Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin: A History*, 2 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949), 1:193.

15 Curti and Carstensen, 1:117.

16 Ellen Chynoweth Lyon, "The Early Years of Co-education at Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*, XXII (December 1920), 33.

17 Curti and Carstensen, 1:119.

18 Letter from Chadbourne to the Regents of the University of Wisconsin, *Papers of the Meetings of the Board of Regents*, 3 September 1864, University of Wisconsin Archives.

19 Ibid.

20 Curti and Carstensen, 1:224.

21 Curti and Carstensen 1:224.

22 *History of the Class of 1874*, University of Wisconsin Archives, p. 116.

23 Ibid., pp. 130-131.

24 Lyon, p. 33.

25 Curti and Carstensen, 1:371-372.

26 Allen and Spencer, p. 38.

27 Curti and Carstensen, 1:373.

28 *1871 Visitors Report*, University of Wisconsin Archives, p. 43.

29 Thwaites, p. 87.

30 Olin, p. 49.

31 *1872 Visitors Report*, University of Wisconsin Archives, p. 17.

32 *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1 January 1873, University of Wisconsin Archives, p. 8.

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33. Curti and Carstensen, I:374. By 1874 fourteen of the Regents who had adopted the resolution forming the Female College were no longer on the Board. *List of Officers*.

34. Curti and Carstensen, I:291. President Bascom was also a supporter of the suffrage movement. In 1886 at the Women's Rights and Suffrage Convention held in Madison, Susan B. Anthony personally thanked Bascom for his support. *Madison Daily Democrat*, 3 December 1886.

35. *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1 January 1877, University of Wisconsin Archives, p. 12. Curti and Carstensen, I:377.

36. *1877 Visitors Report*, University of Wisconsin Archives, p. 45. The Board of Visitors were appointed by the Regents to visit the university during final examinations and to report its recommendations and observations to the Regents. Though the Visitors had no voting power, many changes in the curriculum and organization of the university were first presented to the Regents via the Visitors Reports. Curti and Carstensen, I:107.

37. See footnote 34.

38. See footnote 35.

39. *1877 Visitors Report*, p. 45.

40. Allen and Spencer, p. 39.

41. Ibid., p. 40.

42. "Report of the President," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents* 1877, University of Wisconsin Archives, pp. 37-38.

43. Curti and Carstensen, I:380.

44. Meyer, p. 81.

45. *Daily Cardinal*, 7 April 1892.

46. *Charles Van Hise President's Papers 1907-1908*, in Co-education File Box 13, Letter from Van Hise to Regents, University of Wisconsin Archives, pp. 1, 1a, 6a.

47. Ibid., p. 4.

48. Ibid., p. 6.

49. Van Hise Papers 1907-1908, Co-education File, Box 13, Letter from Robert LaFollette and Belle LaFollette to the Board of Regents, 21 April 1908.

50. By-Laws of the Board of Regents, Section 14, Chapter 2, University of Wisconsin Archives.

51. Olin, pp. 139-140.

2. Women at Wisconsin: 1909-1939

by Ellen D. Langill

Although coeducation was fifty years old at the University of Wisconsin after the first decade of the twentieth century, women students on the campus had not yet achieved complete acceptance. In 1908, the debate over the structure of coeducation was a matter of great controversy and the argument for segregated classes still enlisted strong support from many administrators and male students. President Van Hise had established a campus committee to study the question of segregating university classes by sex in 1908. The proposal stirred up the embers of an issue that should have died in the nineteenth century. But editorials in the *Daily Cardinal* during the 1908 school year kept the topic burning across the campus. One alumnus of the class of 1875 opposed separation of the sexes in the classroom, arguing that "true coeducation" meant side by side participation in the learning experience, which he noted, "conduces the highest conduct...and teaches natural relationships."[1]

Van Hise, however, had argued that, "some courses...particularly attractive to women, such as literature, were frequented by them and apparently for that reason avoided by the men, while such courses as political economy, chosen largely by men, were avoided by the women."[2] The issue was finally dropped when outraged parents and alumni, even more vociferous than the students, argued that segregation would be a step backwards for Wisconsin's "progressive university." A follow-up study of the crisis, made by *Harper's Weekly*, concluded that coeducation would prevail in midwestern universities where men and women students, educated together since kindergarten, "take their continued association in study as a mere matter of course." However, in the years after 1909, Madison was to be one of the national testing grounds of coeducation as many educators waited to see "whether it is the best way, or even a good way, to bring out the finest qualities and powers of a woman's soul."[3]

Despite this inauspicious beginning, the status of women on the UW campus improved over the first four decades of the twentieth century; they were no longer the narrowly defined appendages of the university, as the mildly pejorative term "coed" had once implied. By 1939 women enjoyed full and equal participation in many, though not all, areas of academic and social life at the university and the issue of segregation died accordingly.

A major step toward the acceptance of women students came during these "progressive years" in 1909 with the dedication of Lathrop Hall for women — a meaningful financial investment in coeducation. Prior to 1909, women students enjoyed very restricted facilities with little opportunity for physical training or private social and club facilities. Located near the top of Bascom Hill, the new hall, named after John Lathrop — the university's first president, provided a springboard for many of the advances by campus women during the twentieth century. Before Lathrop, the women students had only old Chadbourne Hall to call their own. Chadbourne, which served mostly for rooming and boarding space, with limited athletic facilities, was built in 1901 and named, ironically, for former President Chadbourne, who

strongly opposed coeducation at Madison. UW President Birge later described the naming of Ladies Hall: "I thought it only fair that Dr. Chadbourne's contumacy regarding coeducation should be punished by attaching (his name) to a building which turned out [to be] one of the main supports of coeducation."[3] Lathrop provided women students with their own version of a student union nicknamed "Eve Hall" for ridicule; women were, of course, excluded from the all male union on Lake Mendota until 1928 when the present structure was completed.[4]

At the dedication ceremonies, April 1, Anna Garlin Spencer, of the New York School of Philanthropy, spoke on the "Personal Development and Social Responsibility of Women." Lathrop Hall, she said, like "the woman's buildings of our great universities, should stand for this, more than anything else — for a place in which the new feminine ideal of the dignity of self-development as an essential foundation for the highest social service shall be taught and realized."[5] The new hall contained numerous facilities to further the goal of self-development and the social service potential of women during Wisconsin's progressive period. In addition to the dean of women's offices, Lathrop held club rooms, social lounges and kitchens, girls' swimming pool, gymnasium and lockers, a dining hall and cafeteria, reading rooms and home economics laboratories.[6]

Even with the addition of Lathrop to the campus, there was a shortage of dormitory space for women students. Out of town girls had to live, well-chaperoned, in approved rooming houses, with relatives or family friends, or in Chadbourne Hall. In 1911, Regent Florence Buckstaff (class of 1886) publicized the pressing need for women's housing in an article for the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*.[7] But progress in enlarging space for women was slow.

With the turn of the century prosperity and the growing professional awareness of women, the number of female students at Wisconsin began a steady climb. During the pre-war years from 1909 to 1917, the progressive tide swept the campus, even though conservative "stalwart" Republicans won back the governorship in 1914. The resulting impetus for reform attracted many young women in Wisconsin to the university where lay the center of activity. President Van Hise, a leading proponent of governmental reforms, won acclaim for his concept of the role of a university in building better state government — the Wisconsin Idea. Van Hise included Wisconsin's women in his outline of the Wisconsin Idea:

> I shall never rest content until the beneficient influences of the university are made available to every home in the state. . . a university supported by the state for all its people, for all its sons and daughters.[8]

The Madison campus served as a springboard for many of Robert LaFollette's state and national campaigns, and Belle Case LaFollette, one of the university's first women law graduates, inspired many young women to see the campus as a training ground for later lives of service. From 1103 women undergraduate students enrolled in 1909-10, the number grew to 1589 by 1911-12.[9] Supervision and guidance of the campus women was the province of the dean of women's office. Wisconsin's first dean of women, Anne Crosby Emery (1897-1903), began the Women's Self-Government Association, patterned after the Bryn Mawr system. Her successor, Cora S. Wood-

ward (1907-1911), strengthened the tradition of women's self-government on the campus by opening WSGA offices in Lathrop Hall and establishing the Women's Court to adjudicate disciplinary matters. In addition, the dean of women supervised residence hall "mistresses," approved off-campus housing, and served as academic and personal counselor for all women students.

Between 1911 and 1918, Dean Lois Kimball Mathews worked extensively with vocational guidance and began the co-op housing movement, which allowed women to save room and board costs by working together in communal houses. Mathews published a book in 1915, *The Dean of Women*, based on her experiences at Madison; the first guidebook of its kind, the book was widely used on campuses across the country. In addition, she persuaded the university to create the office of dean of men, instead of assuming that the dean of the college would automatically serve the university men.[10]

By the 1914-15 school year, Mathews reported that the housing situation had been improved with the addition of the co-op houses. Of the 1424 undergraduate women who boarded in Madison, 152 lived in Chadbourne Hall, 116 in Barnard Hall (a newer women's dorm), 172 in sorority houses, 492 in lodging houses and 725 with relatives or friends.[11] However, Mathews was disturbed by the splintered housing situation which prevented cohesion among women students. She argued for more women's dormitories open to out-of-state girls since the "Wisconsin-only" policy of Chadbourne and Barnard kept in-state students isolated from "the more cosmopolitan friendships of out-of-state and foreign girls."[12]

To help alleviate this splintering and to unite women students, Mathews allocated many duties to the WSGA which operated as a council composed of two elected representatives from each women's housing unit on campus. The council voted on policies governing women students, subject to faculty veto, and planned "mixer" activities to bring women students together. The WSGA clearly stated its purpose in a 1915-16 student handbook: "to further, in every way, the spirit of unity of the women of the university."[13] The purview of the WSGA included rules regarding hours, social codes such as behavior in Lathrop's parlors, and all other aspects of conduct — except academic problems and honor codes.

Each housing unit could draw up its own rules, regarding use of its parlor, quiet hours, and lights out, but all were required to forbid male visitation to rooms, smoking, drinking, and gambling.[14] Each house had a committee to enforce these rules with the help of the house mistress, an older woman or graduate student. No coeducational parties were permitted except on Friday and Saturday evenings and all had to be well-chaperoned by persons on an "approved list." Women had to keep 10:30 hours on weeknights and 12:30 on weekends; parties had to end at midnight. Women were forbidden to leave town without the written permission of their parents, except for school vacations and holidays.[15] Thus female students were protected by a strong university tradition of *in loco parentis*; that it was a well-accepted tradition is attested to by the role of the WSGA in the formulation and enforcement of these rules.

The Women's Judiciary Committee met to try offenders and mete out punishments (also subject to overruling by the dean of women). In addition, the dean of women met with a council of all women's clubs on campus. Representatives from the Pan-Hellenic Association, the literary and dramatic

clubs, class clubs, and athletic association convened in Lathrop once a month to coordinate and cooperate in their various activities.[16] As a pioneer university in the establishment of women's self-government, Wisconsin hosted the first national WSGA Convention in 1913 to help leaders compare notes with other women and to guide other campuses to begin self-rule for their women students.[17]

Unity among women students at Madison was also promoted by the class associations which developed early in the twentieth century. The first group, the Green Buttons, was composed of all freshman women who had to band together for mutual protection during the moderate hazing in fall. Tagged as newcomers by their green buttons (comparable to the green beanies worn by the men), the freshman women held parties of their own and participated in various inter-class rivalries and games. Examples of hazing included having to wear ridiculous outfits to dinner at Lathrop, baking cookies, carrying books, and cleaning rooms for upperclass women, and having to wear a long braid instead of the more dignified college woman's pompadour. The Green Buttons would retaliate; sugar in the bed of a harsh sophomore was a favorite revenge.

The Green Buttons was such a popular association that the sophomore women began their own class club — the Red Gauntlet; the juniors had the Yellow Tassles, and the Seniors were the Blue Dragons. These four clubs organized competition in bowling, swimming, tennis, and basketball. Also, the clubs met socially to plan their booths for the Campus Carnival, or their roles in the annual women's campus day — the May Fete. Held each spring on Bascom Hill, the May Fete was a festival that provided a creative outlet for campus women, including folk dancing, waltz weaving with flowers, a Grand March, and the inevitable Maypole Dance.[18]

Class roles each year culminated in a favorite tradition — the Swing Out. Held in early June, the Swing Out celebrated the graduation of senior women and the advancement of Green Buttons to Red Gauntlets, and Yellow Tassles to Blue Dragons. All underclass women, dressed in white, formed two lines to garland the seniors who marched between them in black caps and gowns. Each class performed several songs and the university band played before refreshments closed the evening.[19]

Women students had many other clubs for the more specific purposes of music, literary and dramatic activities. The oldest of these, the Castalia, initiated girls into the arts of creative writing, dramatic readings and poetry recitations. Pythia, founded in 1902, also engaged in literary appreciation, but added vocal and instrumental music recitals by its members. The Red Dominoes were women interested in drama, and the Girls' Glee Club was the counterpart to the Men's Chorus on campus. In addition, the Young Women's Christian Association chapter on campus had its own room in Lathrop and organized devotions and service projects.[20]

The Women's Athletic Association supervised intramural teams in field hockey, baseball, basketball, volleyball, bowling, tennis, archery, ping-pong, golf, and horseshoes. Orchesis served women interested in modern dance and the Dolphins those in swimming. The Outing Club, organized in 1917, set up sailing, canoeing, skiing, and hiking trips. The forerunner of today's Hoofers, the club also sponsored picnics around the lake and bonfires at Picnic Point.[21]

All these women's organizations served the vital purposes of providing social and creative outlets for women students and opened many opportunities for leadership and for forming friendships. But a student's main tie remained to the residents of her dormitory or housing unit. By 1909, there were ten sororities at the University of Wisconsin, with separate living units, all controlled closely by the Pan-Hellenic Council and the dean of women. Rushing was also carefully moderated; freshmen participated in rush, but only sophomores could accept bids or live in a sorority house. All bids and acceptances went through the clearing house of the dean of women's office and no girl could pledge without her approval.[22]

The cooperative dorms also fostered a strong sense of identity. Sophomore, junior, and senior women applied for the co-op house through the dean of women and were accepted on the basis of character, financial need, personality and scholarship. The application form solicited information regarding a woman's previous experience in housekeeping, since the co-ops saved money by a system of shared housework. Tabard Inn, on North Charter Street, was a very popular co-op, which had its own songs, pins, and a waiting list for membership.[23]

Leisure time found university women in the library, strolling on lake-side paths, or browsing in the clothing, corset, and drygoods shops on State Street, perhaps stopping at one of the many ice cream parlors or at the Dolley Madison Tea Room near the Square for a lime rickey. University women wore full length skirts and long hair, piled on top of the head in the pompadour fashion. The Swedish massage parlor offered students a facial and scalp massage, hairdressing and shampoo, with "separate compartments for ladies and gentlemen."[24]

Theatres in Madison hosted vaudeville shows for students' dates or plays such as Henrietta Crossman in "Anti-Matrimony" at the Fuller Opera House.[25] For young women who wanted to entertain "young gentlemen students," the Lathrop reception room was open Wednesday and Sunday evenings for tea and well-chaperoned sympathy.[26]

During the years before the Great War, life for women at the university was a largely blissful blend of personal and intellectual growth and the development of friendships which bridged the gap between homesickness and independence. The diary of one student from 1909-1913 provides interesting insights into campus life and reveals striking similarities to daily college patterns in all decades:[27]

> Jan. 8 1909 Abbie Mayhew for gym and had a dandy time . . . a lecturer from Boston spoke on how to reduce flesh.
>
> Jan. 9 I got to breakfast just in time because I didn't get up until a quarter to 8:00.
>
> Jan. 11 I played basketball today with 8 players. Right after lunch M. and I went to the 'libe' — stayed till 3:00.
>
> Jan. 12 We had a hall meeting with roll call right after dinner. Mrs. Woodward was quite excited, especially about the lights. [Dean of Women, Cora Woodward had to remind them about curfews.]
>
> Jan. 15 I had quite a headache today and cut algebra . . . after dinner we popped corn.
>
> Jan. 22 I was called on for two easy sentences in Latin and stabbed at them successfully . . . We bought some fudge at the store and made some after dinner.

Jan. 23 [went to matinee dance] I wore my white embroidery dress and yellow ribbons.... I had a perfectly grand time.... I had all my dances taken, but I missed four...when I was down with Gert and Val getting nut salad sundae.

Jan. 24 [took a walk and met a boy] When we got home I looked up Mr. I...in the directory and found he was a senior and lived on Langdon.

April 23 Got some money from home! Hurrah!

June 17 Now my freshman year at the University of Wisconsin is over. I hope I will see three more years just as good.

Sept., 1910 [sophomore year] We went out and watched some freshies get hazed.

Oct. 3 We had grave yard stew for supper.

Another entry included the cryptic note, "There are three times as many fellows [in chemistry class] as girls but girls get the back seats."[28] Intimidated at first by the presence of men, many women fought long inner battles to move out of the backrow and assert themselves academically during their four years at the university. Dean Mathews reported in 1911-12 on the chosen majors of the undergraduate women at Madison, who were beginning to assert themselves both in the quality and the diversity of scholastic fields. Letters and Science remained the most popular major with 929, followed by Home Economics with 136, Music with 62, Library Science with 25, and Agriculture 4, Law 3, Medicine 2, Engineering 1.[29] These tentative entries into traditionally male areas marked the beginning of both wider curricular choices for campus women, and wider professional choices for career women.

Aside from the choice of majors, the dean of women's office contacted women students to appraise them of the academic requirements of the university and to advise them regarding course selection, study habits and scholastic pitfalls. Dean Mathews took pride in the fact that she saw every girl once a semester and met more often with those in academic trouble. The dean of women on many campuses felt the onus of women's struggle to prove themselves as worthy scholars and worked overtime to shepherd them through the academic maze. All students at Madison had to pass an English competency test or take an extra course to catch up. Daughters of immigrant families sometimes welcomed this opportunity to polish their English, although their parents may have resented the coercive nature of the acculturation. Any student who cut twenty percent or more of her classes had to go through extra tutoring sessions and take additional course exams. The grading system conformed, for the most part, to today's numerical standards: 93% was required for an A, 85% for a B, and 70% to pass. Students in the 60-70% range could also opt for extra tutoring and additional exams to receive passing credit.[30]

After the dedication of Lathrop Hall in 1909, physical education greatly expanded in course offerings and increased in popularity among university women. Because of the new facilities, Abbie Shaw Mayhew, women's physical education director from 1897-1912, announced that all freshman and sophomore women were required to take gymnastics or some athletic training.[31] By 1910, Mayhew offered a variety of physical training programs and sports including basketball, tennis, field hockey, baseball and golf. She reported to the Regents in 1909 that she would require each girl to take walks for part of the physical program and that she also hoped to start a women's crew team.[32]

In 1912, Blanche Trilling took over the Department of Women's Physical Education and added the sports of fencing and track and field. She petitioned for a women's building at Camp Randall since the women were not allowed to walk to hockey or tennis in their gym clothes and thus had to change in a tent at the field. Townspeople had complained about the impropriety of college women trudging through Madison streets in their mandatory middies, and thus the dean's office won the battle in behalf of modesty. The old tent was replaced by women's facilities near the Camp Randall Field House in 1915.[33]

Trilling was very active in promoting women's water sports and encouraged students to utilize Madison's many lakes for canoeing, sailing, and fishing. In 1915, she initiated two swimming requirements: all women had to pass a fifty-yard swim test and take eight credits of swimming before graduation. Trilling had noted the increase in swimming participation during her early years on campus and believed it was due to the invention of effective hairdryers in 1914.[34]

The intramural sports program continued to be very popular, partially because women participated in no intercollegiate sports. Shortly after Trilling's arrival, the women brought a goat to the intramural championship games to be awarded to the winning team; thereafter the playoff game was christened the "Goat Game," although cardboard replicas replaced the real beast.

In 1913, the Women's Athletic Association reorganized to become a "more broad and inclusive group," instead of the secret, honorary, and exclusive club of former years. The coveted WAA sweaters and emblems were awarded on a point system, based on participation and leadership in sports.[35]

Many campus activities which were solely for men did not open their membership to women or offer leadership positions until after World War I. An example of such a closed-door organization was the *Wisconsin Cardinal*, the student newspaper, run and edited solely by male students in the early years. After the turn of the century, however, the women students, by virtue of their growing numbers, agitated for more of a say in the student press. One journalism professor applauded the ambitions of women in the newspaper field, albeit with faint praise, noting their "ability to see the emotional...side of life and to express it in a lively, readable manner..."[36]

To prove that they could handle "hard news" as well as emotional stories, women journalism students agreed to take complete charge of one annual *Cardinal* issue each year. Appearing St. Patrick's Day in green ink, the paper provided an outlet for coed journalism students. The second annual *Coed Cardinal* in March 1910, celebrated the opening of Lathrop Hall and even advocated coeducational dining areas where students could converse informally. The editors ran several studies on campus women and printed the results in their issue. One statistical table demonstrated the rural-urban balance of women students in 1910 (over fifty percent rural), their average age (19.7 years), and their average weight and height (117 lbs. and 5'3"). From the table, one gets an interesting composite of the women who attended the University of Wisconsin during the pre-war decade.[37] A second survey provided data on the career choices of the class of 1910. Of the 98 graduating women, 58 planned to teach, 20 planned to marry, 2 wanted to enter graduate school, 2 aimed to be librarians, 2 hoped to travel in Europe before settling down, and 2 decided to enter newspaper work.[38]

Another feature of the *Coed Cardinal* was the editors' parody on a lovelorn and advice column. Mock queries were addressed to "Beatrice Barefacts" and suitably dry rejoinders followed. One such letter asked: "Dear BB, Is there any other way a girl can announce her engagement beside putting it in the *Cardinal*? A newspaper notice seems so banal." BB responded: "A four-sheet poster might be a novel departure." [39]

Women's interest in journalism was only part of their growing awareness of world affairs and political issues during the progressive era. University women on many activist campuses worked in prohibition campaigns or organized socialist and labor support groups. The Madison chapter of the Intercollegiate Prohibition Society was begun on the eve of the war in 1917 with the avowed purpose of waging a war on "demon rum" among fellow students.[40]

Many men and women students also joined the newly-formed Socialist Club on campus in 1915.[41] The university, wary of being accused of radicalism by the Regents and the legislature, did not allow full academic freedom to its more liberal faculty and students. Even President Van Hise voiced disapproval when Professor Edward A. Ross encouraged students to hear leading anarchist, Emma Goldman, when she spoke on campus.[42]

Many women students took great pride in joining Vassar and Wellesley women in supporting the New York Shirtwaist Strike in 1910. The Literary Round Table pledged to buy shirtwaists from union members only and hastened to order several to help the strikers.[43] The *Coed Cardinal* proudly announced, "University women...have truly manifested their interest in the great woman movement [by sending money] to the Women's Trade Union League."[44]

The "Woman Movement" in the pre-war years meant, above all, the burning question of suffrage, an issue that enlisted numerous supporters at Wisconsin. The opening story in the 1910 *Cardinal* announced: "Votes for Women: Faculty and Students Almost Unanimous!" One professor gave his reasons for favoring suffrage: "woman...would only appear more beautiful when seen defending her rights and protecting her country in the battlefield of politics."[45] One detractor, however, noted that smoking and suffrage work seemed to go hand in hand, and also complained about the many Wisconsin women who took "pills to calm themselves."[46]

Although the Wisconsin suffrage amendment lost in the 1912 state referendum, university women across the country redoubled their efforts to win the vote during the next eight years. Though ballotless until after the war, many Wisconsin women continued their active involvement in campus life and gradually gained acceptance as full and equal members of the student community. In 1915, Dean Mathews summed up the progress made by university women in the twentieth century and closed her report with a resounding defense of coeducation:

> It is vital that men and women should have appreciation each of the other in the matter of ability, opportunities, privileges, and obligations. This is the great mission of coeducation.[47]

However, in 1914, a new mission took preeminence as the "war to end all wars" broke out in Europe. During the war years, 1917 to 1919, women students at UW expanded their horizons and talents wider than ever before

and came out the victors, ready to welcome the returning soldiers back to the campus on a different footing by 1920.

When the United States entered the war in April of 1917, the students were in the midst of the traditional spring rituals before May exams. The campus consciousness turned from Maypoles to news about the draft and rationing. As campus men left Madison for "over there," the women organized into home defense work.

War Bond drives galvanized campus organizations to hold patriotic benefits. The 1917 prom was cancelled and a Liberty Loan Dance scheduled instead. Sororities joined together to purchase over five thousand dollars in war bonds by December 1917.[48] The enrollment changes from January 1917 to January 1918 showed the effect of army recruitment; male students declined from 3,330 to 2,298 in one semester and women from 1,745 to 1,690.[49] Many of the women students who withdrew joined the Red Cross or army nursing corps; others volunteered for ambulance duty in France.[50]

Women faculty members enlisted for war work too. Elizabeth Kelley, associate professor of economics, served with Herbert Hoover on the Food Administration staff in Washington; Abbie Shaw Mayhew became director of a physical training school in Shanghai; and Louise Lippit, also of the physical education department, directed a Red Cross ambulance service in France.[51]

Women students who stayed at home also organized to aid the war effort. The dean's office sponsored a series of lectures in February and March 1918 on "Women's Work in Defense" and the WSGA established a War Work Council to coordinate programs.[52] In October 1917, women students held a patriotic rally at Lathrop Hall and conducted signups for war aid activities. Campus women could make surgical dressings, clothes and socks for the Red Cross to distribute. (In the first two months of the program alone, they made thirty-five hundred bandages.)[53] Or women could serve in other ways. The University Women's Council agreed to cancel all sorority proms and formals "for the duration." They spent many hours at the training camps in Madison, decorating soldiers' quarters and bringing books, records, and newspapers. Besides the $12,000 pledged for Liberty Bonds, the campus women raised money for the relief of French and Belgian orphans.[54] The only social events on campus were dances such as the Military Prom in March 1918, which donated all proceeds to the Red Cross.[55]

One of the greatest impacts of the war on the home front, of course, was the rationing program. Lathrop Hall was closed in the winter of 1917-18 to save coal, but was later reopened for use by the Cadet Training officers. Women's physical education activities were reduced to outdoor winter sports. The WSGA set up a committee to supervise campus efforts in conserving food and fuel. Women students voted to omit bread and butter with meals and to cut down on their consumption and waste of all foods.[56] Shortages brought other problems in their wake; during 1918 scarlet fever ran through the campus and several halls, including Chadbourne, were quarantined. More serious was the flu epidemic that swept the country in 1918. Lathrop Hall had to be converted into a campus infirmary to house all the epidemic cases.[57] The dean of women's office established a "War School for Wisconsin Women" in May

to teach a variety of methods of dealing with epidemic threats and conserving food and fuel.[58]

By the fall semester of 1918, however, armistice rumors were in the air and the campus waited, as did the country, to hear good news from the western front. Despite one false rumor, the long-awaited armistice came on November 11, and the church and carillon bells of Madison peeled forth the news. One senior woman duly recorded the day of campus jubilation in her diary:

> November 11, 1918 — Peace — world war at end — greatest day in history. Whistles blew for signing of Armistice at 2:30 — again at 7:30 — parade in morning and mass meetings on lower campus — team wild — mobs march to Camp Randall — speeches songs.[59]

The undercurrent of the festive joy was the anticipation of the return of the sorely missed soldiers. Campus life would return to "normalcy." But women students had won a quiet victory of their own during the war years. Never again would posts of campus leadership be completely closed to women students. Victorious themselves, they flocked to the Madison station by December 1918 to meet the trains and to welcome home the returning veterans.

As the soldiers began to reenroll after the war, the jubilant mood on campus remained for a while. Although celebrations continued, the veterans grew to realize the new status of the formerly "backrow" coeds. In 1919, a woman served as editor of the Wisconsin Yearbook, and other women did not automatically step down from the leadership positions they had filled by necessity during the war. Dean Louise Nardin, who replaced Lois Mathews in 1918, began career guidance seminars which stimulated a broader career interest among women students.[60] More women began to enter non-traditional fields. Twelve women students in the agriculture school organized the first Women's Agriculture Society in the United States, and the dean of the agriculture school predicted that the women "can hold their own with the men in agriculture." Women medical students began a Medics Club to serve the growing number of women who were on campus training to be doctors.[61] By 1921, the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* noted the "further invasion of women into professional college courses, especially those of a commercial character." Of the 2,410 women enrolled in 1920-21, 179 were majoring in commerce, 112 in journalism, 11 in pharmacy, 2 in law, 15 in medicine, 10 in agriculture, and 24 in chemistry in addition to the more traditional fields. So great was the interest of women students in journalism that the department began a special course "Newspaper and Magazine Departments of Interest to Women" in the spring semester 1921.[62] Not content with the once a year *Co-ed Cardinal*, women, who numbered over fifty percent of journalism students after the war, won the right to full year-round participation in the paper and the Women's Edition became a regular feature in each issue.[63]

After the war, women had seized upon the automobile as eagerly as men, seeing it as an instrument for increased opportunity and freedom. The university offered a coed course in auto mechanics for such afficionados in 1919. Women students dismantled and reassembled a Buick and a Willys Knight.[64]

Not just at UW but across the country, women were manifesting a growing interest in higher education. More women also aspired to attend graduate school and teach college, rather than grammar or high school. Helen C. White

came to Madison with such aspirations in 1919 as an instructor and graduate student in the English Department. On the train from Boston some of her doubts about education in the Wisconsin hinterlands were quelled by a fellow passenger who told her that "to be going to the University of Wisconsin was the height of earthly bliss."[65] Her first impressions of the campus scenery were quite positive: "The University is wonderful, not only huge but truly impressive and the lake is beautiful."[66] But White could not adjust so readily to coeducation as she could to the university vistas. Boston bred, Radcliffe educated, she had taught at Smith prior to her appointment at UW and found the idea of teaching and working with so many men quite discomfiting. Gradually, however, she began to learn the ways of coeducation and midwestern informality. As she wrote her mother, "They don't say girl here, they say woman...the women are very different here than at Smith, but very cordial...I was surprised to find that where men and women meet and talk and work together so naturally, the men are, if anything, more courteous."[67]

By her second month on campus, White had become acclimated to the coeducational lifestyle: "The cordiality of Westerners has not been exaggerated. They are all, especially the women, just as pleasant and warm as possible....They're younger women than the Smith set and more informal, much more."[68] She was also well on the way to overcoming her fear of teaching university men: "I'm not a bit afraid of the men now...and they're nice seeming boys too!"[69] Her adjustment was severely challenged when she was "tigered," a custom, popular on many campuses, of saluting a teacher with hisses and yells. "The other day I came into my huge overflow class of 90 odd — mostly men, to be greeted by an awful hissing. I was frightened and terribly worried. There was such a yell — and 'Miss White.' It was the tiger and said to be a great honor and very seldom given to newcomers."[70]

Many students and women faculty, like White, were finding their personal bearings in the large university during the post-war years. Many other women, however, seasoned by the war years on campus, were caught up in the final months of the fight for suffrage. A branch of the National American Woman Suffrage Association on the UW-Madison campus organized all student efforts on behalf of the Anthony Amendment. Despite numerous setbacks before the war, women across the United States were preparing for a final effort in early 1919. By January, ninety-seven percent of the faculty on the UW-Madison campus had declared themselves in favor of "Votes for Women."[71] In April 1919, the Suffrage League sponsored weekly demonstrations and trips to the Capitol, with notices of their activities posted in all campus buildings. Posters hung in Lathrop cried, "Come On, Let's go to the Legislature."[72]

Suffrage proponents also followed the progress of the National Convention held in St. Louis during April.[73] Women students flocked to hear Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, past president of the NAWSA, when she came to Madison to urge an all out push for victory.[74] The University of Wisconsin Suffrage Association, which numbered more than three hundred women by May 1919, met weekly in Lathrop Hall. Elsa Gluck, president of the group, wrote to the *Cardinal* about the readiness of Wisconsin women to accept responsibility in the political arena: "The University of Wisconsin is doing everything it can to prepare its women for the largest possible share in public service. During the war it was the women who carried on. They want to carry

on reconstruction work, they know as you do that votes do not solve the problems of women, but that it is the most effective political weapon. The women of the university want Congress to pass the amendment to make effective the largest possible share in public service."[75]

When the 19th amendment was passed by Congress in June, the Wisconsin legislature was still in session, and the *Cardinal* predicted jubilantly, "Wisconsin may be the first to ratify the Suffrage Amendment."[76] On 10 June 1919 Wisconsin fulfilled the prediction and suffragists celebrated the victory, dressed in their white dresses and symbolic yellow sashes for a parade around the Square. By the fall of 1919, while the fight for ratification continued in other states, Wisconsin women were enrolling in special courses to catch up on the fine points of American government and learn the mechanics of the voting right that soon would be theirs.[77]

With woman suffrage an accomplished fact by the fall of 1920 and with women students increasingly expanding their involvement and power on campus, some male students felt threatened by the many changes. Fond memories of the pre-war days stirred a backlash movement of some bitterness during the 1920s. "A Society for the Welfare of Male Students" was established which opposed, among other things, marrying university women and which hoped to return the male student to his proper role of campus dominance.[78] A *Cardinal* editorial entitled "Pink Tea," worried about Wisconsin's "ignoble" reputation of being a coed's paradise, and urged male action to recoup lost esteem for the campus.[79] In 1920, an alarmist headline in the *Cardinal* declared, "College Man a Mere Relic in a Few Years." The article tabulated the enrollment increases of 40.7% among women, and only 35% among men during the last four years, and, misusing statistics, went on to warn "Women are fast overrunning the University!"[80] One courageous woman responded in mockery: "We hope ultimately to be able to impose house rules upon the men; they are sadly in need of discipline...10:00 hours and no lake privileges."[81] Another male student tried to place the role of women on campus in perspective: "The place of the Coed," he wrote, "ought to revert...the University ought to be just for men...now that the war is over."[82]

But the women would not retreat and new issues supplanted the struggle between the sexes. Questions of prohibition divided students across gender lines as the "wets and drys" tried to evade or enforce the Volstead Act on campus. Many women, with their newfound political prowess turned from suffrage to sobriety as a new crusade and demonstrated their opposition to demon rum by holding a mass rally in front of Lathrop Hall and pledging to uphold prohibition.[83]

Smoking was also a favored target of many drys. The dean of women reported in 1922 that very few coeds smoked, but a survey by the *Cardinal* suggested that almost one-half of the women on campus indulged in the habit.[84] During the 20s, many newly franchised women began to experiment with emancipation from mores of all kinds. University officials viewed such freedom with a jaundiced eye, but contended mainly against the more blatant forms of rule breaking.

In March, 1926, the *Ladies Home Journal* surveyed leading universities — Harvard, Princeton, the University of Chicago and Wisconsin — on the topic, "Fashions in College Morals." The study concluded that, if anything, coeducation elevated campus moral standards at Wisconsin. "For every

woman student who may be under suspicion as a social or moral pest, there are hundreds whose presence on the campus makes the life of the university cleaner and more wholesome..." Dean Louise Nardin told the *Journal* that, as an average, only eight out of the university's three-thousand women had to be expelled each year, as compared to roughly twenty-eight out of four-thousand men. The WSGA indicted these reprobates with a public declaration: "Whereas your continuance in school tends to increase the moral hazard of the community...on behalf of the student body and in the interests of decency (we) do earnestly request that you withdraw from this university at your earliest convenience."[85]

"Normalcy" returned to campus as to the country in the early 1920s as sports, stocks, and entertainment flourished. Cars mobilized a freer social life and "bobbed hair" and short skirts replaced older restrictive fashions for women. The Student Union proved inadequate to the enrollment and social whirl of the 1920s, and so in 1928, the Memorial Union was dedicated in memory of the war dead. The new building on Lake Mendota offered greatly enlarged facilities and rooms for all campus activities. The all-male Union members made a feeble attempt to keep the building a male bastion, but soon women were admitted to the ballroom and by 1929 to full Union access. In late 1928, the WSGA and YWCA offices moved into the new building, a symbolic departure from the sheltered walls of segregated Lathrop Hall. The separation of the sexes was no longer the protective prop circumscribing coeducation at the university. By the close of the 1920s, only rooming facilities and athletic activities remained totally segregated.[86]

Dean of women during the 1920s, Louise Nardin, presided over the decade of advancement for university women. She took great pride in the scholastic achievements of women who outperformed male students academically throughout the 1920s.[87] To encourage continued excellence Nardin founded Sigma Epsilon Sigma, a freshman women's honorary sorority, and hosted awards banquets for all "honor women" who received cups for being on her Dean's List.[88] Nardin also insisted on strict observance of study hours, requiring all freshman women to be in their houses or dorms studying after 8:00 p.m. Monday through Thursday.[89] By 1929, there were five women's honorary societies on campus, including Mortar Board, Omicron Nu (for home economics), Alpha Gamma Pi (for commerce), Theta Sigma Phi (for journalism — Zona Gale and Edna Ferber were honorary members), and Emblem Club (for physical education).[90]

Home economics remained the most popular specialized major, aside from the general liberal arts program, and continued to serve only women students. A British commission, sent to study women in American universities, praised the facilities at UW-Madison, remarking especially on the home economics department with its staff of twenty-eight teachers, numerous laboratories, kitchens and its own model cottage and farm house.[91]

For women in mixed courses, however, competition between the sexes continued and a virtually all-male faculty showed women scholars no special favors. In fact, Helen White felt that the reverse was true: "I'm not yet dead sure that being a woman is such a bad job if you have patience enough to give your days and nights to getting to be a better scholar than the men."[92]

Prosperity during the 1920s kept up with university costs, but students from Wisconsin's rural areas began to feel the pinch of a postwar agricultural

depression during the decade. Dean Nardin helped to open and furnish three more cooperative houses during her tenure and to aid girls with insufficient budgets. In addition, many women students worked part-time during their college years as maids, waitresses, salesgirls, babysitters and housekeepers. The average wage for a day's work was one dollar, but the problems of studying and laboring were onerous. The employed girls established a Women's Self-Employment Bureau on campus in 1925, supervised by the dean, to help farm girls secure campus jobs and learn how to budget both time and money.[93] The new Cooperative Bookstore on the campus also offered a way to save; students could join the co-op for $2.50 and buy books and supplies at a discount for life.[94]

The 1930s would share little in the ebullience of growth and development of the previous decade on campus. A university education in itself became a luxury as the Depression deepened and a different kind of stamina than flapper dances was called for from women who remained at the university.

In 1931, Louise Troxell (Greeley) became the new dean of women and served during a decade that demanded her services as an economic advisor and employment and loan counselor, as well as academic and social guardian. She recalled that during her first two years, few people saw the economic collapse as more than a short-term recession. Most students hoped with Hoover that "prosperity was just around the corner." But two years later, when newly-elected Roosevelt was engaged in the Hundred Days of economic rescue, Dean Troxell began a "new deal" program of her own. Established in 1933, the Dean of Women's Emergency Loan Fund provided money for women students (and a few men) on a no-interest, delayed-payment basis. The total loans over the eight years of the fund's existence amounted to between $500-$1,000 per year, parcelled out in amounts from five to fifty dollars.

Dean Troxell solicited contributions to her fund from businesses and alumnae who wished to underwrite women's education. All loans, repayments, and donations were painstakingly noted in her ledger book, which also included personal notes about the students' hardships. Reasons for the loans varied from "aid to get home," "board and stockings," "glasses," "room money," to expenses for "books" and "doctor's fees." Each student signed a formal promissory note like the following:

> Received from the Louise Troxell Greeley, trustee, fund $5.00, which I promise to pay by September 1, 1938.[95]

Many notes of gratitude were also tucked into Troxell's ledger book, such as the one from an alumna who sent money in 1945 in appreciation for her gift ten years earlier. "During my senior year at the U., you called me to your office. I was presented with a sum of money...I have always appreciated the gift and your kindness in selecting me."[96]

Troxell also used the fund to subsidize co-op houses which were even more sorely needed during the 1930s. So innovative and successful was the fund that is aroused the jealous suspicions of the dean of men's office and other administrators. Troxell, however, refused to relinquish her control and wrote angrily that the "Money given to the Dean of Women can be spent by her as Dean of Women, if spent for something outside of what would be a

normal expenditure from her budget." She used the money, she argued, only for "financially handicapped but intellectually promising students."[97]

Troxell also established co-ops for clothes and book exchanges; girls could swap texts and coats rather than purchasing them new. In addition, students established Eating Clubs where food from farms and gardens or cooking chores were deducted from meal costs. Troxell made many loans to these clubs, but noted their struggles due to rotting food and the decrease in state agricultural output.[98] Tuition at the university was $100 for out-of-state students and only $27.50 for semester fees for Wisconsin residents. But room and board costs amounted to about $300 per year, or $275 in a co-op dorm, so all forms of savings, employment, or government grants were needed by students to meet expenses.[99] Women's housing facilities, long inadequate, were finally improved during the 1930s with the construction of Anne Emery Hall and Elizabeth Waters Dormitory.

Besides administering her own special loan funds, Troxell handled the New Deal programs for campus women. The National Youth Administration channelled money through deans' offices to fund campus jobs. Women applied for these subsidized positions as librarians and clerks or academic assistants.[100] In a report to University President Dykstra, Troxell noted sadly, "My time in office...has seen material effects on students of another nation-wide catastrophe. The clinic was reporting cases of students living on near starvation diets...we gave milk, clothing, and money...some girl students were not only self-supporting, but sent money home."[101] Dean Troxell helped many students to secure jobs and conducted a survey of campus employment in 1937-38. There were 264 graduate women enrolled, one-fourth of whom worked part-time and almost one-half of whom were completely self-supporting. A third of the 3,080 undergraduate women worked part-time, but only seven percent were completely self supporting.[102]

Despite the economic hardships of the 1930s, the number of women students remained fairly stable on campus. In 1932-33 there were 550 senior women; in 1933-34 the number dropped to 509; 1934-35 to 484; in 1935-36 it rose to 517; 1936-37 to 522; 1937-38 to 524; 1938-39 to 591; and 1939-40 to 631. All was not gloom during these post-prohibition years at Madison. By the end of the 1930s, the WSGA and Men's Union had merged to form the university's student government association — the Union Council. In 1939, the first woman student was elected to preside over the Senior Class and women continued their progress in other campus administrative positions. Only in athletics did separation imply inferior expenditures and facilities. Yet, intramural sports remained popular in newly-remodeled Lathrop Hall and a Girls' Glider Club was begun in 1930, inspired by the new hobby of Charles and Anne Morrow Lindbergh.[104]

Women who worked were more on their own and began to demand fewer university regulations hemming them in. In 1930, the WSGA succeeded in adding an extra 12:30 night for senior women and Dean Troxell agreed to allow the use of keys for more freedom on those later nights. Underclass women continued to be more closely supervised and 10:30 weeknight hours remained in effect despite sporadic protests.[105] Troxell commented on the Depression's effect on campus activities, noting the toll on the former freedoms: "Social life is vastly different...students were [in the twenties] insisting on more freedom of action...expressed largely in experimentations

not acceptable even to liberal minded adults."[106] Later hours came with greater economic burdens in the 30s; responsibility and hardship brought more freedom where the frivolity of the 1920s had been met with suspicion and sternness by university officials.

Yet, the battle between career and homemaking goals became even more crucial for campus women during the 1930s when many "heads of household" qualifications were attached to jobs. Working women were often accused of stealing an income from a family man. Despite the increasing superiority of women's academic performance, more graduates thus chose seemingly secure marriage and fewer looked for career opportunities in the turbulent decade.[107] In 1938, the *Cardinal* featured a story on this change in life plans: "Women Still Hold Marriage is Chief Career," and observed the operation of the prejudices that worked for families and against single women in the economic crisis.[108]

The desirability of marriage also brought about a more conservative trend in mores and dating behavior. Single women during the career-minded '20's had often declared their sexual independence and demanded rights to experiment with Freud's libidinous theories. The *Cardinal* carried a debate among campus women over these changes in "acceptable morality." Many women students, in a poll, agreed with the dean that chastity before marriage remained the highest principle. As dean of men, Goodnight warned in the student handbook: "college administrative officers consider sexual immorality a heinous offense."[109] One woman student spoke for the group that preferred to question the rewards of strict chastity. In a scorching rejoinder to the poll, she wrote: "We who are not virgins can smile at the notion that we have lost our self-respect."[110]

No campus purges resulted from the flow of political liberalism that marked the 1930s, despite threatened backlashes. However, the bigotry abroad in the world reared itself at the university when several women's rooming houses refused to admit Jewish girls. Those offended, and their outraged champions, appealed for a campus-wide student boycott of the guilty housing units. Unfortunately, the WSGA succumbed to the anti-Semitism by vetoing the boycott and suggesting instead that separate lists be filed of the houses that would, or would not, admit Jewish students.[111] In 1930, Meta Berger, wife of Milwaukee Socialist Victor Berger, brought a proposal to the Board of Regents which stipulated that halls or rooming houses for university women not be accredited if they discriminated on the basis of race, creed, or nationality. Unfortunately, the proposal was referred to the Executive Committee, where it died from neglect.[112]

By 1939, anti-Semitism was a more ominous force than the petty bigotry of some students at Madison. At the end of the decade the world was slowly awakening to the implications of organized racism in Hitler's Germany. The 3,269 women enrolled at Wisconsin in 1939 looked eastward with the rest of the country to Poland in September, when the Nazi invasion spelled the outbreak of another world conflict. Dean Troxell, who had lead the campus women through the trying times of the Depression, began to anticipate the new tragedy. In another war women's role would be even more demanding, she predicted, "Women in our university are strategically situated — as they have every opportunity to work, both socially and politically, as they will be expected to do in later years; that is with men doing similar work."[113] She

also warned, however, of the "winds of war" that would call forth the utmost energies of campus women. "The threats of war make it important that we have and disseminate all possible information about new work for women . . . and also the ramifications of the defense program for our women students."[114] In the thirty years from 1909 to 1939, women at UW-Madison had grown from the status of sheltered and segregated "coeds" to full participants in campus life — proving their excellence in scholarship, in leadership, and in cultural and political activities. Sprung from complacency by one war and by their own battles for suffrage and for equality, they were ready to play a role in another war, in the armed forces, in the medical corps, in industry, or in campus organizations. It remained for campus women in the decades after 1945 to continue the slow process of achieving full equality on the campus, to carry on the progress "thus far so nobly advanced."

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Emily Webster
Oshkosh Normal School

PART TWO

THEY CAME TO TEACH

3. Emily Webster: Math and Maxims 1849-1933

by Kathy Greathouse

Marble and granit are perishable monuments and their inscriptions may be seldom read.
Carve your name on human hearts, they alone are immortal.

For fifty years, the name of Emily Webster, mathematics professor, lived in the hearts of students and faculty of the Oshkosh Normal School/State Teachers College.[1]

"Hold the child responsible for what he knows and teach him what he does not know," was one of the many Webster maxims that circulated through the school during her teaching career from 1875 to 1925. "Anyone who passed Miss Webster and graduated could teach arithmetic and there was no doubt about it," recalled a former student years later. No one could hide mathematical ignorance from Webster, who disliked careless, mentally lazy students, but always worked diligently with a student who tried. She was a firm believer in individualized learning. But, her campus reputation went beyond the academic realm of arithmetic, and Latin and English, which she also taught. Emily Webster was known for her sense of humor, her witty speeches, and her love of travel, nature, and people.

Born on the Western Reserve of Ohio on 9 July 1849, Emily Webster was the eldest daughter of Lucius and Emily (Pickett) Webster. Webster, a resourceful and religious man, moved his small family to Winneconne, Wisconsin, where in the early 1850s Indians and wigwams were still a common sight.

In 1871, Emily Webster decided to enroll in a six-week teaching course at the Oshkosh Normal School, with forty-three other students. After completing that course, she took four years of advanced work and was one of eight students in the first graduating class of the Oshkosh Normal School in 1875. She stayed on to be a teacher at what since has become the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh.

Emily Webster and the Oshkosh Normal School grew up together at a time when there were few normal schools and students from all over the state came in search of knowledge that would lead to good jobs and golden opportunities. During her fifty-year career, she served under four presidents — George Albee, Rufus Halsey, John Keith, and Harry Brown.

Known as an "exacting" math teacher, who turned the "rut [of math] into a pleasant path," Emily Webster was "kind-hearted, but not soft-headed." Her motto was, "accuracy and reasonable rapidity."

"She was as searching and relentless as a lawyer in cross-examination of a witness. Tears on the part of a girl, or bluff on the part of a boy, was never accepted as legal tender for the correct method or answer for a problem in arithmetic," recalled a student.

"She said at different times in class, that if girls would spend as much time decorating the inside of their heads as they do the outside, they would be better off."

A large, strong woman, Webster dressed plainly. She lived a simple life and did not lavish money on herself. She walked the thirteen miles to school

from her parents' Winneconne home before she purchased a safety bike. She was one of the first faculty women to own one. Healthy in mind and body, she only missed one day of school due to sickness. (At seventy, Webster enrolled in the school's physical education program.)

Concerned about the well-being of the nation's enlisted men preparing for World War I, Webster visited training camps at Camp Custer and Camp Grant, in Grand Rapids, Michigan, to see that the men were being properly clothed, fed, housed, and treated with kindness. During the war, she volunteered to teach English at military posts and asked for no pay.

A worldwide traveler, Webster occasionally wrote accounts of her trips for the *Daily Northwestern*. She once remarked that "Marco Polo had the advantage when he related his tale of travels, for there was none to dispute or tell a more wonderful tale."

She had an unfailing interest in people and a great capacity for friendship. Every fall, she invited faculty members to her home for a picnic dinner. On birthdays and holidays, she sent cards, often with original verses, to her vast number of friends.

For more than twenty-five years, Webster served as secretary-treasurer of the Oshkosh Alumni Association, keeping accurate records of Oshkosh graduates and informing them of alumni reunions. She also was active in promoting a student loan plan.

In 1921, she received a Meritorious Service Award for her work as a pioneer in early education in Oshkosh. In 1924, a year before her official retirement, a writer for a local women's magazine, called her the "Arithmetical Grandmother of 200,000 Children" and asked Webster if the students of the day were any different than when she first began teaching. "I think not," replied Webster, in her frank, but humorous way. "They don't seem any more eager to learn than they used to be." Upon retirement in 1925, a banquet was held in her honor at the Athearn Hotel, where ninety-five prominent guests were entertained by a stringed orchestra. She was honored with the title "Arithmetic Emeritus" of the Oshkosh Normal School, and invited to teach at her pleasure, which she did until 1928.

A favorite public speaker, she gave the 1925 commencement speech; and the 1925 *Quiver* yearbook was dedicated to her.

After retirement, Webster continued her church and civic work. An avid naturalist, she became an honorary member of the Ponkapoag Camp Fire Girls, Oshkosh, who christened her "Tan ah Wandah" or lover of nature and sayer of words. She died on 26 July 1933 at the age of 84.

Emily Webster taught more than academics. She was a living example of her philosophy of life —

> Laughter and contentment and a struggle for a goal. It is everything that's needful in the shaping of a soul.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. This essay first appeared in *The Daily Northwestern*, Oshkosh, Wisconsin, July 23, 1976.

4. Margaret H'Doubler: Pioneer of Dance

by Barbara B. Pillinger

'Tis to create, and in creating live
A being more intense, that we endow with form
Our fancy, gaining as we give
The life we image.

— Lord Byron

Byron's words epitomize the life work of Margaret H'Doubler, pioneer of dance. Indeed, H'Doubler has often used this quotation in her writings[1] to describe the living, creative process that is dance.

The Teacher. Born in Kansas in 1889, the daughter of a Swiss artist-photographer-inventor, Margaret H'Doubler spent her early years in Warren, Illinois. She moved with her family to Madison and enrolled at the University of Wisconsin in 1906, graduating with a degree in biology. Due to her enthusiasm and talent for sports, and despite the fact that she lacked formal pedagogical training, H'Doubler was invited to stay on at the university as an assistant in the Department of Physical Education for Women. Her special love was teaching and coaching basketball.

H'Doubler's experience with dance, however, was limited to department offerings of aesthetic dance forms. Thus it was with some trepidation that she left Madison in 1916 to study philosophy for a year at Columbia University — with a special mission. Blanche Trilling, director of the department, requested that she make a study of dance during her sojourn in New York in an attempt to find an appropriate methodology to provide "something worth a college woman's time."[2] "Miss Trilling called me in and said, 'Marge, while you are in New York, I wish you would look into dancing and maybe you could come back and teach dance.' I was horrified. I said, 'Miss Trilling, I teach dance and give up my basketball?' and she said tears came into my eyes, and I said, 'I just couldn't think of that. I don't know anything about dance. . . . Miss Trilling, I just can't think now of ever giving up basketball.' She said, 'All right, you can keep your basketball.' "[3]

Discouraged and frustrated at the mimetic, stilted dance forms she found in New York, "Miss H'Doubler wrote a decisive note to Miss Trilling, 'I shall *never* teach dancing.' "[4] H'Doubler finally happened upon the studio and work of Alys E. Bentley, a teacher of music for children. Bentley's more creative approach utilized children's natural expression and movement in the learning process. Lessons often began on the floor! "Miss H'Doubler recalled that this aspect of teaching hit her like a flash. 'Of course, get on the floor where you are relieved from the pull of gravity. . . and see what the natural, structural movements are.' "[5] Although Mary Lou Remley observed that H'Doubler's idea of dance was a direct result of her contact and brief study with Alys Bentley, H'Doubler refutes this interpretation: "This is a mistaken idea. It was while lying on the floor in Miss Bentley's studio that the concept occured to me. When I tried to tell Miss Bentley about it, she didn't even understand it."[6]

And so began Margaret H'Doubler's "floor work" and an embryonic notion of an exciting, new organic form of dance — one in which students would explore, discover, experience their own structural possibilities and self-realization in the process, rather than merely copy someone else's movements. Trilling provided strong support for H'Doubler's experimentation with

in the university environment, despite the skepticism of certain leaders in the field of physical education. For example, Amy Morris Homans, director of the then Boston Normal School of Gymnastics (later the Department of Physical Education and Hygiene at Wellesley College) is said to have written Trilling that "sad as it was, Miss H'Doubler was not quite sane."[7]

Undaunted, Margaret H'Doubler went forth with her pioneer ideas and with her pioneering students in a course she called "interpretive dancing" in the *1917 18 University Timetable*. Throughout this experimentation period she retained the basic principle that the human body is the medium of dance and that fundamental to learning to dance is mastery of the body as an instrument of artistic expression. Following the floor work where the student mastered the principles of movement while minimizing gravitational pull, other movements — walking, running, skipping, hopping, leaping, sliding — and various locomotor patterns were introduced. It is said H'Doubler rarely went to class without a human skeleton with which to demonstrate the structural foundations of movement. H'Doubler emphasized time, space, and force as underlying theoretical concepts in her kinesthetic and rhythmic approach to the study of movement. After mastery of dance fundamentals, Miss H'Doubler's students were ready to entertain the creative aspects of dance. Both theme and content emanated from the individual dancer's ideas and her "vocabulary of movement" for expressing her ideas.[8] H'Doubler herself never performed; thus students continued to develop movements from their own experience and created their own dances and their own artistry.

The Artist. As students progressed to more advanced levels of composition and performance, H'Doubler encouraged each dancer to express her own personality artistically. Dance was to be a creative response drawn from the life experiences of the dancer herself, not an imitation of a routine designed by someone else. H'Doubler gently urged her students to be imaginative and resourceful as they created their dances. Natural movements and creative expression were emphasized. The "new dance" was held behind closed doors in Lathrop Hall, essentially for the intrinsic value to the dancers themselves. In the spring of 1918 the first full-length dance performance, Dance Drama, was scheduled in conjunction with the 1918 Field Day. As the four class dancing teams were nearing dress rehearsal, Trilling began to have misgivings about the public exhibition of H'Doubler's "dance" and finally suggested that the performance be cancelled. "She called me in her office and she said, 'Marge, I am very sorry, this isn't what I had hoped for.' And I said, 'Oh Miss Trilling, wait until you see the program, and then if this isn't what you want, again I'll say I will retire and you won't have to be embarrassed.' So we did the program, and we had to do it twice. . . . After it was all over — I can just see Miss Trilling coming down like this pushing people aside. She couldn't get there fast enough. She said, 'Marge, it's beautiful. I shall never say another word. I'll do all I can to help you go ahead.' "[9]

Trilling reiterated her enthusiastic approval in a letter to Dr. J. Anna Harris, director of women's physical education at the University of Minnesota, who had also expressed an interest in a different kind of dance form:

> As you know . . . I have been more or less doubtful, and I want you to know that since I have seen the program on Saturday night all the doubt has been removed. I have never seen . . . more beautiful, more spontaneous, and more unconscious dancing. . . . I came away absolutely satisfied with what Miss H'Doubler has done. . . . I am ready to give her a free hand.[10]

Dance classes continued to flourish. Each student made her own dance costume, a knee-length tunic of lightweight material similar to tunics worn by

Spartan women athletes in ancient Greece, which were a far cry from the long skirts or middies and bloomers of the times.

Requests began to come in for demonstrations of the new dance form. In 1919, a time when the conduct and affairs of students were closely monitored by the university, and women students were rarely allowed "off campus," the administration granted H'Doubler permission to present a demonstration in Detroit. Many engagements followed until President Edward Birge finally informed H'Doubler that "the University could not become known as a 'dancing school' "[11] and forbade further travel. An increasing number of people interested in H'Doubler's approach to dance came to Madison to observe classes and to discuss "the new dance" with her.

And the students danced on. Orchesis was established in 1921, the prototype of many similar college dance clubs throughout the country. Orchesis met regularly during the year, and Dance Drama became its annual project and presentation. Men began to join in H'Doubler's classes, despite the *Wisconsin State Journal* headline in 1922: "Ye Gods, Male Students Take Up Aesthetic Dancing at U. W."[12]

With the help of classicist George C. Sellery, dean of the College of Letters and Science, H'Doubler proposed a major in dance that encompassed science, philosophy, and art. In 1926 the Board of Regents approved "the action of the faculty concerning a course in dancing as a specialized major in the Course of Physical Education for Women. Thus...the first dance major in any institution of higher learning had been launched."[13]

Margaret H'Doubler has written prolifically, precisely, and profoundly about her great love, the dance. In describing the integral relationship between dance and life, she wrote:

> In creating a style of life, one is ever searching for ways to become more sensitive to the many stimuli that constantly bombard mankind, seeking how best to evaluate and select experiences and meanings, and trying to organize these innumerable and conflicting elements into coherent patterns of behavior that reveal a life well-integrated and adjusted to its environment, which, when all is said, is any man's greatest art achievement. The contribution dance can make to such living is its primary value to an individual life and to society.[14]

The Person. Several of Miss H'Doubler's former students, who have been leaders in the dance department at Wisconsin through the years, remember her in special ways. In Ellen Moore's recollections, she states:

> We had been regarded as thinking, responsive people; we had been taught to evaluate our own progress. It is no wonder that we were awed by our experience in Margaret H'Doubler's classes, for we not only had participated in an expansive approach to dance, but also had deepened our respect for ourselves as growing, self-directing, potential artists. This, for most of us, was a unique experience.[15]

Anna Nassif, choreographer-in-residence, remembers, "Marge had a kind of mystic power. People wanted to be near her, to hear what she had to say. I think of her as forward thinking, forward moving...in her long gray dress....She viewed dance as heightened awareness and composition as a translation of life experiences to the stage."[16]

"Marge was quite a character besides being a very brilliant, intuitive woman," comments Louise Kloepper, former head of the dance department. "She was so far ahead of her times. She developed a marvelous theory based on the interplay of biology, physiology, psychology — a tremendously crea-

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tive thing. She believed in facts, but the way she put them together made them come alive. Marge's ideas didn't stand still, but then, neither did she! I remember her saying, at the time of her retirement, 'I'm just beginning to know how to teach.' "[17]

Margaret H'Doubler taught at the University of Wisconsin for forty-four years, from 1910 until her retirement in 1954, advancing from assistant in physical education to full professor in 1942. She received the Luther Halsey Gulick Award in 1971, the highest honor given by the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation. In 1972 she was awarded an honorary Doctor of Fine Arts degree from her alma mater.

Margaret H'Doubler, now in her eighty-ninth year, lives with her artist-architect husband, Wayne Claxton, in Tucson, Arizona. She attained a singular achievement in the field of college dance. And to this day, when people think "dance," they think Wisconsin.

Margaret H'Doubler is indeed the founder of American college dance. Her work was of major significance. It has stood the test of time, experience, critique. Hers was a search carried to fruition.

Notes to Chapter 4

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   Margaret N. H'Doubler, "Dance as an Educational Force," *Arts in Society: Growth of Dance in America*, 13, (Summer Fall 1976), p. 334.
2. Mary Lou Remley, "The Wisconsin Idea of Dance: A Decade of Progress, 1917-1926," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 58, (Spring 1975), p. 180.
3. Mary Alice Brennan, "Interview with Margaret H'Doubler, Dance Educator," Mimeographed, (Sister Bay, Wisconsin: 8 October 1972), p. 3.
4. Ruth June Rose, "The Wisconsin Dance Idea," (Unpublished undergraduate thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1950), p. 1.
5. Remley, p. 182.
6. Margaret N. H'Doubler, Personal correspondence, April 1977.
7. Remley, p. 182.
8. Remley, p. 183.
9. Brennan, p. 10-11.
10. Remley, p. 186.
11. Remley, p. 190.
12. Remley, p. 193.
13. Remley, p. 194.
14. H'Doubler, *Dance: A Creative Art Experience*, pp. 167-168.
15. Ellen A. Moore, "A Recollection of Margaret H'Doubler's Class Procedure: An Environment for the Learning of Dance," *Dance Research Journal*, 8, (Fall-Winter 1975-76), pp. 16-17.
16. Anna Nassif, Personal recollections, August 1977.
17. Louise Kloepper, Personal recollections, August 1977.

5. Gladys L. Borchers

by Agate Krouse, Harry Krouse, and Audrey Roberts

Professor Gladys L. Borchers received a diploma from the State Normal School at Whitewater in 1918. She earned her B.A. in 1921, her M.A. in 1924, and her Ph.D. in 1927, all from the University of Wisconsin at Madison. In 1927 she joined the full-time faculty of the speech department at the university. She was the first woman promoted to full professor in her department. In addition to holding numerous visiting professorships, she taught at UW-Madison until her retirement in 1962.

Since then she has led an intellectually active life. Her interest in new ideas and people is keen, her memory exceptional. She has the ability to reexamine her past in the light of new ideas and possibilities rather than seeing it fixed forever.

On separate occasions Agate and Harry Krouse interviewed Borchers about her early life and her experiences as an undergraduate at UW-Whitewater and Audrey Roberts interviewed Borchers about her experience as a professor at UW-Madison. What follows are excerpts from those interviews.

"I was living in LaValle, Wisconsin, a little town of 450 people. The school had only nine grades. That meant that you could get only one year of high school there and after that you would have to go to another town if you wanted a diploma. I decided to learn to be a milliner, and I became an apprentice. My two older sisters were at this time leaving Whitewater Normal School and teaching. I realized that I would never be able to go away to school unless I somehow got more income. I also realized that being a milliner was not for me."

Prerequisites for admission were either a high school diploma or two years of teaching experience on a first-grade certificate, which would then be considered the equivalent of completing high school. She wrote for a third-grade certificate, taught in the country, and then wrote for a second-grade certificate and taught at Delton, near Wisconsin Dells.

"Later, when I was teaching in Waunakee, Inspector Hunt visited me. He said I should go on to college. He said I could manage it. I wrote to Whitewater to see if I could get in, but they didn't want to take me. Mr. Hunt, the Inspector who had encouraged me, had meanwhile left school inspecting and gone to teach at River Falls. He got permission for me to go there. But I really wanted to go to Whitewater: my mother had gone there, my uncle had gone there, so had my sisters. Finally, Whitewater did let me in for Summer School in 1915. In 1916 they admitted me as a regular student.

"My father had come from Germany and he had to make his own way. He was a very industrious and honest person, but he wasn't in the position to send his children to college and to pay cash for it. His first wife had died and left two little boys; then he married my mother and they had four girls, so there were six children in all. He couldn't send them to high school and college although he was eager to do so. He was always proud that my mother had gone to Whitewater and had graduated in 1875. My father was quite a stu-

dent although he had had no formal education except elementary school in Germany and he had been in the German army.

"When my father came to America, he didn't have much money, but he bought *one* book. It was a volume of Shakespeare. That helped him to learn English.

"My mother was interested in getting the vote for women. She started the Women's Club in LaValle. We had the best library in LaValle. People came to our house to borrow the dictionary, the encyclopedia, and other books. My mother started the library for LaValle. When I became a milliner's apprentice, she said, 'I never thought a daughter of mine would have less education than I had.'

"I remember once my mother came home from the Women's Club and she said to my father, 'Today I said how much I loved teaching and that I wished that I were still teaching.' She said the other women didn't understand that at all. They thought that she meant that it was unfortunate she had married. She didn't mean that. She felt that she could have done better if she had taught *and* been married. She would have liked someone else running the house or doing the scrubbing. But she loved her family. She just didn't enjoy some of the housework.

"My mother wanted my two half-brothers to teach in the country schools and continue their education. It was the only way she knew to get enough income to attend college. Although my brothers didn't go to college, my mother had always wanted them to go.

"My sisters all earned money for their educations. Four of us went to Whitewater. One taught for awhile in Lake Delton and then married. But three of us went on to teach at the college level: at the University of Minnesota, Colorado, Evanston, Baton Rouge, Hawaii, Brigham Young, Mount Holyoke, Rockford, Platteville, and the University of Wisconsin in Madison, Milwaukee and others. I cite this because I think my parents did pretty well to help to educate three daughters for college teaching.

"When I got my third-grade certificate and I taught in the country school, I was paid $280 a year. I lived on $80 for the whole year, and I saved the rest. I boarded in the country for $2 a week, and the farmer's wife told me that if I wanted to stay there over the weekend I'd have to pay a quarter more for Saturday and Sunday room and board! But I was never extravagant enough to have to pay that because I always felt that I could live at home free! When I taught at Delton, I got a better salary, and at Waunakee it was still better. I taught there for three years before going to Whitewater. It took $200 to go there for one summer. But when I received a diploma from Whitewater, I taught in Jefferson and earned $1000 a year. That was the highest salary of any woman on that staff in 1918-19. After I finished my B.A. degree in Madison, I taught at Rockford College for $1,800. When I was going to Rockford on the train, Alice Crew, who was going to teach there as well, said to me, 'I have to be awfully economical because I owe $120.' I didn't say anything, but I remember that I owed $1,200.

"I just received a letter from one of my friends. She's brilliant and evidently was treated badly when she was an undergraduate in a Big Ten university. In the first place, she got married and they thought that was an unwise thing to do! After she got married, the dean of that university told her she could stay on (she was an instructor at the time) but that she would never re-

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ceive a raise in rank or salary, that 'she should stay home and take care of her kids.' She said at the end of her letter: 'I have marched in protests for other causes, but not for women. . . . I guess I am outwardly a conformist, inwardly a rebel.' Which means that really she didn't tell the truth in her life and that when she was most successful in her career she was not marching, and not militant. My own feeling is something like my friend's but not so marked.

"As I think back about it, I can see that I didn't recognize many examples of discrimination but I believe unconsciously I may have buried some. I had many things to do and these activities were substituted for open criticism. I can recognize now some things I suppressed.

"Women weren't in positions where they could be very demanding. When I entered college at Whitewater I did not have the courage to aim toward a full professorship in any leading university. It was Mr. Weaver who said: 'Why don't you do that?' After his encouragement, I looked forward to a position in a distinguished university and I chose Wisconsin.

"One time a member of the nominating committee wanted to nominate me for president of the National Association of Teachers of Speech. The other members of the committee approved the nomination, but one of my colleagues said that he thought Gertrude Johnson, who was older and had never been president, should be recommended first. As a result of this discussion, my name was withdrawn but — Gertrude Johnson was not recommended by that committee. They got a man!

"Professor Weaver was the one who suggested that I major in speech. When I was teaching in Madison I remember Mr. Weaver said to me, when my salary was less than some of my colleagues, and I had been there longer, and was a little older; 'It's not as high as I hoped it would be, but I suppose you get used to that and accept it.' I said, 'I get used to it but I don't accept it.'

"When I went to the University of Louisiana on leave in 1949, I was an associate professor. They offered me a full professorship at Baton Rouge if I would come there permanently. I didn't intend to do it because my position was better at Wisconsin . I wrote to Professor Weaver and I said I did not intend to leave but I intended to tell him that I had had an offer of a full professorship at Louisiana State University. Then Professor Weaver got an offer of a full professorship for me at Wisconsin. The offer from Louisiana probably moved my promotion up.

"Gertrude Johnson was considered by many to be one of the greatest public readers in the United States but she had a lower salary than some of the men and never got to be a full professor. She was an artist, a great reader and a great teacher. Paul McKelvey made a study of her work as a teacher. In his Ph.D. thesis she ranked above every other professor in the speech department at Wisconsin. This was before the Ph.D. was so important. After her death I discovered that she never had any kind of a degree, not even a bachelor's degree. She wasn't in a position to help with graduate degrees. Gertrude Johnson helped me as an example of a great teacher, but I was never close to her personally.

"Many believed it was easier to get a Ph.D. if you were a man than a woman at Wisconsin. When I think of the Ph.D.'s whom we had at the University of Wisconsin I believe that the average intelligence of the women was equal to that of the men, it may even have been higher because fewer

women than men attempted Ph.D.'s. They were sometimes discouraged. Professors were inclined to discourage women when they were older, but they would often take the men even if they were older. Sometimes I felt like saying half in jest, 'She doesn't want to marry you, she wants to get a degree.' They were able to place the men in positions more readily than they could the women.

"One of my candidates was teaching in the city schools of Madison and Mr. Weaver came to me and said that he understood that I was going to encourage this woman to work for a Ph.D. I said she was a brilliant woman. Mr. Weaver pointed out that this woman had a very good job in the city schools of Madison. He said he was afraid that after an advanced degree she might not get as good a job as she had now.

"Some times in faculty meetings it seemed to me that members of our faculty were against a candidate because she did not happen to be attractive personally. After all, the women were applying for positions as scholars not as members of a social group. The women who were preparing for careers accepted the responsibilities of men and at times took on the behavior of men. Naturally women in the new situations had to do the things men had formerly done. In my work I was a teacher of speech and education, and usually I felt at ease there.

"I believe that the possibility of marriage didn't influence me as much as it might have if I hadn't concentrated so much on preparing for a college teaching career. At that time the rule was that no two members of the same family could be hired at the University of Wisconsin. Either the husband could be promoted in salary and rank or the wife could, but not both. Times have changed. Now any number of members of the same family can be employed at the University of Wisconsin. One's living is different.

"The field of speech is an attractive field. At that time one worked in drama, public address, speech pathology, speech education, rhetoric. I think I lectured in every state in the union. I finally lectured in Germany and in both the East and West Zones. I lectured in England, Norway, Denmark, and in India. It was an interesting life, and one was not eager to give it up even for marriage.

"Another thing that helped me was collaborating on books. I wrote, either alone or with colleagues, eleven books. I worked with men. It seems that men helped me more than women. But in my department there weren't any women to help me. It wasn't until I had intelligent and brilliant women as my own students that teaching relationships with women became important. My students write to me often. Some say, 'Without you I couldn't have made it.' For me that got to be a greater satisfaction than anything else I could think of.

"I have known some great women educators who worked for the University of Wisconsin System: Grace Potter, Chair of Elementary Education in Whitewater; Charlotte Wallaeger, Dean of Women, Milwaukee; Mildred Berry, Edna Gilbert, Lois Nelson, Adah Miner, Ph.D.'s from Madison, authorities in psychology, communication arts and disorders. They all helped me and many still do.

"You ask me what advice I would give young women. First, I would encourage learning about possible careers for both men and women. I would pay special attention to abilities and try to find life work that makes use of

what a person does well and enjoys doing, and avoid what a person dislikes doing and does poorly. Most persons who enjoy an assignment enough to work hard on it will succeed.

"There is much competition in almost every career. This is especially true when women take positions formerly held only by men. But there is satisfaction in competing with men as well as with other women. I say 'Don't be afraid. Go out and try new things. If you set out and want to do something, the chances are you can do it.' "

Gladys Borchers' own achievements testify to the truth of such possibilities. By consistently helping intelligent women to advanced degrees, by achieving a lot on her own, by serving as a model and an inspiration, Gladys L. Borchers has helped innumerable women concretely and effectively.

6. Helen C. White Remembered

by Audrey Roberts

Helen C. White was a professor of English at the University of Wisconsin-Madison from 1919 to 1956. She progressed from instructor to full professor and was head of the English department for two terms. She was president of the American Association of University Women for three terms, the first woman president of the American Association of University Professors, a novelist of reputation, a world renowned scholar, a fine teacher, a model and a myth to students and faculty.

In an effort to measure her effect, particularly on women students, I wrote to twenty-four of her doctoral students. Half responded; some sent names of others to contact. These letters, almost all as reverential as the oral tradition in Madison, attest to the woman's charisma. The question that I was most interested in — how did being a woman affect her career — was integral in all the responses, whether she was a feminist was often answered only obliquely, but there was consensus that she would not have marched waving banners.

It is difficult to get beneath the surface to understand Helen White. As one correspondent wrote, it is highly unlikely that graduate students saw the real Helen White. As Madeline Doran, her colleague, remarked, White had different voices for the hats she wore: the voice of teacher was kind, gentle, interested and tactful; the voice of colleague was sharp, concise and intellectual; in committees, she was practical and concrete. Whatever voice she used, it is clear that she was a high achiever from her earliest days.

Helen White began life in New Haven, Connecticut, on 26 November 1896 as one of four children born to John and Mary (King) White. She walked at ten months and talked at twelve months, giving early evidence of precociousness and abundant energy. When she entered grammar school in 1902 she was already an avid reader. In 1909 she enrolled at Girls High School in Boston where she was active in debate and could take any side of a question with equal vigor.[1] A photograph in the University of Wisconsin Archives pictures her at this age, a tall slender girl with large serious eyes and long pigtails. Her intellectual brilliance sped her through Radcliffe College in three years — graduated with a B.A. in English, summa cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa, and with the George B. Sohier prize for her bachelor's thesis.

Helen White arrived in Madison in 1919 as an instructor in the English department. One former student recalls that William Ellery Leonard talked of how she had come to the university with her pale golden hair and china blue eyes and charmed everyone with her intelligence and ability. In her second year she was given the advanced composition course to teach and a Shakespeare course, and she wrote to her mother that her students "tigered" her (a sign of approval) at the end of her recitations. Her first major paper on Blake was delivered at the MLA in 1920 and she selected the poetry of Blake as her dissertation topic. She completed her Ph.D. in 1924. In the eleven years between 1925 and 1936 she rose from assistant professor to professor, becoming the first woman to hold a full professorship in the College of Letters and Science at the University of Wisconsin.

I had invited anecdotes that would reveal White's personality as well as comments on her as a role model or feminist. Everyone had a favorite story to tell.

Sister Mary Paynter wrote, "One seminar I took from her in the early 1950's met in her apartment in the Irving (long since torn down, but then across from Old Music Hall) — she intended to return someone's seminar paper and calmly began sorting through the immense piles of journals, mail, papers, books, etc. that covered every inch of table, bookshelf, open space there. Finally, she opened the refrigerator door, musing to herself, 'Now I know it's here somewhere . . .' — and there it was! She had left a small pile of papers inside the refrigerator somewhere between the milk and the cheese."

Several respondents referred to her anecdotal style and her old notes, but an anecdote from Viola Wendt dramatizes White's charisma, as well as her ability to focus intensely on one thing at a time. "Helen C. White was to give a talk to a group of graduate students in the apartment of one of them. Since there was only one electric outlet in this typical graduate apartment, the student and his wife rigged up some extension cords so that there could be a lamp next to their only comfortable chair, a rocking chair. Helen C. White headed straight for this comfortable place as her due and rocked back and forth. Somehow the cord had got tangled up with the rocker, and as she rocked and talked, the light went on and off. She never noticed this anomoly and talked on with her usual verve and concentration. Diverted and distressed at first, after ten minutes the students didn't notice it either, so engrossed were they in what she was saying."

Many refer to her kindness and thoughtfulness to students. "Everyone knew one or two stories of graduate students who were ill or short of money to whom Miss White offered assistance. I had one opportunity to experience her kindness myself, when the professor who evaluated my teaching invited me to the Faculty Club to discuss it and then forgot. I was quite embarrassed to be standing there in the Faculty Club, slowly realizing I had been 'stood up.' At that moment, Helen White happened along, sized up the situation, and took me to lunch."

Several other writers associate White with nourishment, physical and spiritual: "It was difficult to get her time, *unless* she felt you were in trouble or a dud. She gave annual parties for her seminars and students which were pleasant enough; they were memorable mainly because she, not much of a drinker herself, made the strongest drinks I've ever had."

Almost everyone referred to White's penchant for outfits (always including a hat) in various shades of violet. The reason she herself most frequently offered was that this made it simpler to pack for travelling. But jokes on the subject abound. "She was quite heavy in those days, and perhaps we all laughed a little, though affectionately, when we called her the Purple Princess behind her back. There were all kinds of stories about why she always wore purple (occasionally green), but I think the most pervasive one had to do with a request from the Pope. (Viola Wendt says that White, a devout Catholic herself, referred to Catholics as the purple papal people.)

"Once when a graduate student learned the university planned to convert Helen's apartment on Murray Street into offices, he said, 'Oh no, they won't move Miss White; she's inviolate.'

"In the next two years she reduced considerably, probably to counter balance some heart difficulties. . . . My first view of her after that interval was in the summer and she was wearing a lavender dress on her fine figure and — it was hard to believe — she was wearing lavender tennis shoes."

Her career as a teacher spanned four decades. Undoubtedly her influence on different generations of students was different. Understandably, responses to the question about role models varied widely. Some women found inspiration in White's style of living, whether they chose to marry or remain single, and mention her active support for their personal decisions.

"Because Miss White did seem happy in her role, she did become one of various forces that helped me choose my own way of life as a single woman, though my life style was certainly very different from hers. . . . Helen White's independent spirit helped me to have the courage to be a somewhat liberated female before it was fashionable to be so."

"When I was about to be married in 1959 (at the stage where I was beginning to write my dissertation) I went to see various teachers to tell them. . . . There was still in the atmosphere then a feeling that women scholars didn't get married. Or, to put it another way, that marriage and scholarship for women didn't mix, so that if one did get married, one might as well say good-bye to scholarship. . . . Anyway, I raised this problem with Miss White in some fashion. Because her response was so encouraging and helpful I've always remembered it. . . . Miss White said it was really a question of organization and efficiency. Of course, one could combine marriage and scholarship, or do any combination of things, *but* one had to put first things first. And here she cited herself. She hadn't simply taught and done scholarship. There was her other writing, her administration, both local and national, and all the other demands on her time. So that sometimes she could only research — and write — 30 minutes or 60 minutes a day. But she did that first thing in the morning, when she was still fresh, and she did it every day, and gradually the 30 minutes or the 60 minutes she had added up. . . . And on this basis she had been able to write as many books as she had. And then she said, she was sure I could do the same thing. It was a great gift she gave me, her faith in me, and — typical Miss White fashion — a concrete program for its realization."

On the other hand, as the gap between generations widened: "Role model? Well, hardly. Even had I been looking for such a thing, she was far too much of another generation to have been appropriate. . . . Of course, she would have favored equal opportunity, and so forth, but I do not think she would have felt very much at home in NOW."

In my attempt to humanize White it would be foolish to overlook negative comments; two people commented on White's habit of lateness. "I was embarrassed the way she was habitually very late for luncheon appointments with male colleagues who would wait patiently for her at table in the Georgian Room, 'like perfect gentlemen' not even having their orders taken until she arrived. . . . I've wondered whether this excessive tardiness was caused by devotion to a student she was seeing in conference — or by a latent hostility toward her colleagues that even she might not have been aware of."

The word most frequently used to characterize White was serenity. That White swam like a duck, all serene on the surface, but paddling like hell

underneath, is obvious from what we know of her work habits and her own correspondence. But what the special chemistry was that helped her to do so remains unexplained. Whether it was derived from her Roman Catholic religion (one person responded that her career was like a vocation to her), or her knowledge that she was the best loved and most admired of the White daughters; whether it was the result of robust physical health and totally focused energy, or the immediate and unvarying recognition of her ability, White's psychic energy appears to have been freed for the greatest achievement. And my sheaf of correspondence attests to respect, loyalty and gratitude.

At the same time, many of the letters call attention to another aspect of the English department history that must be included here. A major part of my intention was to document the influence of Helen White as a woman scholar and role model for other women. In pursuing this portrait of White, what emerged at the same time was a triptych of three women, "a dazzling array of womanly talent."

"When I first entered graduate school at Wisconsin in the fall of 1952, I met a dazzling array of womanly talent in Ruth Wallerstein, Helen White, and Madeline Doran, each with distinctive gifts and personalities, complementary, diverse."

Ruth Wallerstein arrived in Madison in 1920 and remained on the faculty at UW until her tragic death in an auto accident in 1958. Madeline Doran arrived in 1935 and remained on the faculty until her retirement in 1975. The years when the three women were on campus together are referred to as "the golden years."

"If she'd been the only one, it would have been a *lot* different . . . . There was a balance of power and it was very exciting for a woman to be there then." "Their friendship and their mutual support of one another was an example of 'bonding' among women whose professional lives were surrounded by a predominantly masculine world (though none of us used the term 'bonding' then)."

"Helen had the most executive ability, obviously; she seemed to us to have enormous power and influence in the scholarly world. But Ruth was the most exciting scholar because she was so esoteric and demanding — it took a whole semester to learn her vocabulary. Madeline is the best scholar, perhaps, ego, but I went to Ruth and Madeline for rigorous criticism. Helen just gave us unlimited faith."

"Having the three women at Wisconsin meant that for me at least there was never any doubt that a woman could be a scholar and a good university teacher. The only prejudice I faced was that against married women. Mr. Hughes and Mr. Hoffman let it be known that they had little confidence in the future of a married woman, and even Miss Wallerstein hinted that there would be difficulty when I wrote her in England that I was pregnant."

"All from a period when it was career or marriage, not both. Any suffering they had done over that fact was long gone when I knew them."

There was almost complete consensus on her kindness, her energy, her hardheaded practical perspective, and her encouragement. Although it appears that there are opposing responses about her feminism, "Of course, she was a feminist" to "She would not have been comfortable in NOW," what does develop out of this survey at least, is that White did actively support and

encourage other women, that she acted as an important model, and in the predominately male world of the English department and the university she was a dominant figure, respected and admired. As for the three women together, "It was the fact that there were *three* of them; Madeline, Helen and Ruth, and that they took second place to no one, that is so impressive."

Notes to Chapter 6

1. Valuable for biographical information is Joan Agard's "Biography of Helen Constance White, 1896-1967" (manuscript, Wisconsin State Historical Society Archives, Madison).

2. The following persons were kind enough to respond by letter with their eloquent comments: Lois Byrns, 29 November 1977; Bettie Ann Doebler, 27 July 1976; Elizabeth A. Flynn, 6 May 1977; Kenneth R. R. Gros Louis, 21 October 1976; Rosemary H. Heist, 1 November 1976, 2 December 1976; Anne Kiley, 11 October 1976; Ruth P. M. Lehmann, 13 November 1976; Elizabeth McCutcheon, 17 October 1976; Sister Mary Paynter, 27 October 1976; George R. Price, 14 October 1976; Ruth Falk Redel, 23 October 1976; Rebecca D. Ruggles, 22 November 1976; Wilma L. Tague, 17 February 1977; Joan Webber, 23 July 1976; and Viola S. Wendt, 15 September 1976, 21 September 1976, 7 November 1976, and 14 November 1976. I also met with Viola Wendt.

7. Hilda Belle Oxby

by Ellen Last

In Eau Claire, Wisconsin, the twenties roared very quietly, if at all. At a student dance in the gym of the Normal School, President Schofield noticed with alarm that some of the young women students had rolled down their stockings. Turning to faculty member Hilda Belle Oxby, he asked her to reprimand the students for their shocking behavior and to request that they roll up their hose. Her bright eyes sparkling, she replied that she would be happy to do so "as soon as he walked over to some of the women teachers dressed in similar style and did the same...He didn't, and neither did [she]."[1]

The mixture of independence, tolerance, respect for people, and sprightly humor are still evident in the speech and manner of Hilda Belle Oxby. Her vision of herself and of the school and community whose intellectual and cultural life she helped to create and foster remains as strong and bright as ever.

When Harvey Schofield, first President of the Normal School at Eau Claire, invited Oxby to join his staff at the school's opening in 1916, he brought to the small school a unique woman with a mind "always filled with a tremendous mental curiosity." This curiosity had, even at this early stage of her career, led her into numerous experiences which few girls of her background even dreamed of. In a time when girls from isolated communities in northern Michigan didn't go to high school, she went, driven to the boarding school by her mother in a sleigh. In a time when young women wishing to teach went to normal schools and teachers' colleges, she went to "the University" — first the University of Michigan, then the German universities at Marburg "in the summer," Berlin "in the winter," and Freiburg "in the spring."

Her thirteen-month stay in Europe ended just as World War I broke out. She recalls that her ship steamed out of Southampton at 1:00 p.m. The harbor was closed at 2:00 that afternoon. Returning to the Midwest, she augmented her previous two years of secondary school teaching at Battle Creek with a year of teaching in Illinois before being invited by Schofield to teach German in the "College Course" of the new normal school.

At this point in her career Oxby's life was touched personally by the sort of forces she enjoyed studying — the forces shaping relations between nations. The wave of anti-German feeling which accompanied the outbreak of World War I ended the study of German on many campuses, including Eau Claire's, and Oxby found herself teaching in her minor — rhetoric — in that stronghold of unsung heroines, the freshman composition course. She also taught Latin, began making "lemonade" of the "lemon" she'd been handed, and made the best of it by retraining in Spanish. She spent four summers at the University of Mexico and two summers in Middlebury, Vermont, immersing herself in the Spanish language and culture as she had previously done with the German.

This interest in other nations and their relations with the United States led her, in 1925, to Columbia University, whose graduate program in education was popular with many normal school teachers. Faced with the choice of graduate programs, Oxby felt no excitement at the prospect of "tak-

ing courses in things your're teaching," and she decided, in characteristic Oxby style, to pursue her own personal intellectual interests — in political science and international relations — and to allow those interests to shape her constantly growing professional and intellectual life.

This continuing process of learning and growth was dramatically enhanced when Oxby was invited, in the summers from 1927 to 1932, to participate in the highly prestigious Institute of Politics which had been established at Williams College. For five summers she took part in round tables, lectures, and informal interchanges with eminent political and scholarly authorities from all parts of the world, including such notable figures as Arnold Toynbee. After spending the first two summers at the institute as an Associate Member, she was one of the few women considered to have adequate professional and academic background to become an actual member.

Her experiences at Williamstown in her five summers there she found to be "worth more than four years of college all together," and those experiences were enriched over the years by extensive travels with friends and later with student groups, as she initiated a program of foreign travel for students. In the 1930s she and a friend traveled through Germany twice, observing the effects of the rising Nazi power. Talking with German friends who were intellectuals opposed to Hitler but forced to keep silent, she learned firsthand of the spirit of fear and oppression rising in that nation. Anti-fascist refugees from Germany and Spain were among the people with whom Oxby had contact during her later Mexican travels.

These excellent and varied experiences shaped Hilda Belle Oxby as a knowledgeable and forceful teacher, a woman aware of her potential as a resource in a school and community with "a real need to communicate with the outside world."[2] She still recalls "how isolated people were in those days, [when] there were no televisions, very few radios or anything else to keep in touch with world happenings."[3] Drawing especially on knowledge gained at the Institute of Politics, she provided Eau Claire's students and civic groups firsthand with "something that was new to them" — expert presentations on international relations, including such topics as the work of the League of Nations and President Wilson at Versailles. Despite the political conservatism of Eau Claire — "It wasn't exactly a Democratic stronghold" — her presentations were always well received, probably because of her attitude, that "facts are facts," and that "I never tried to change anybody's mind."

This vigorous and cosmopolitan spirit also made itself felt in 1942 when, with President W. R. Davies, Oxby founded the Chippewa Valley Forum. Eau Claire's student body, drawn mostly from families who could not afford to travel to partake of cultural events, had been frequently criticized for its lack of academic and cultural background. Responding to the need to fill this gap and to the need to offer the growing city of Eau Claire a more varied cultural life, the founders of the Forum started what has become one of the longest running lecture series of its type in the country. Oxby's contributions to the forum were substantial: "For one thing, I sold tickets like mad!" For another, she served as a member of the Talent Committee which chose and engaged the long list of high quality speakers — scientists, artists, journalists, politicians, writers.

Looking back over the career of Hilda Belle Oxby, who retired from teaching in 1953, one sees the image of a woman constantly in motion:

shepherding groups of composition students to the library to do "investigative themes" on international relations; giving diagnostic tests to students "when it wasn't popular at all," engaging in debate with eminent political figures at Williamstown; driving through pre-war Germany; talking to expatriates in Mexico; touring Latin America with groups of students, many of whose expenses were paid by a fund of Oxby's honorariums for public speaking; addressing the Women's Club on the latest biography of Woodrow Wilson; advising student groups; establishing a chapter of the American Association of University Professors; selling tickets for the forum — in these and hundreds of other situations Oxby acted to shape her life and the lives of those around her in our twentieth century world.

The force of her presence was felt by every person whose life she touched, including Presidents Schofield and Davies, of whom she remarks, "I used to stand up to them. I never felt I was working *under* them. I was working *with* them." When she suggested to President Davies that the typical three-to-one ratio of men to women on many faculty committees was unbalanced, he replied that if the one woman was Hilda Belle Oxby, it was the men who were outweighed.

The stength and forcefulness of her personality, enhanced by her extensive knowledge, her insatiable intellectual curiosity, and her eagerness to break new ground — these qualities resulted in actions which molded the lives of countless students, faculty members, and community people. Her own comment on a teacher's effect in the classroom certainly applied in other areas as well: "Your example counts for more than what you do in the classroom.... You inspire good students to work to capacity." Because of what she did — and especially because of what she was — Hilda Belle Oxby saw to it that the school and the community at Eau Claire were challenged to be all that they could be.

Notes to Chapter 7

1 Except where otherwise noted, all quotations are excerpted from a personal interview with Hilda Belle Oxby at Syverson Home, Eau Claire, on 22 February 1977.

2 Mike Seidl, "Forum Strives for Quality: Need to Bridge World Awareness Gap Fulfilled by Oxby, Community Leaders," *The Spectator*, 17 March 1977, p. 1.

3 Ibid.

8. Emma Lou Wilder: She Came To Teach

by Jean L. Foss

By virtue of the fact that La Crosse State Teachers College was the only Teacher's College in Wisconsin authorized to train physical education teachers between the years 1912-1958, Emma Lou Wilder emerged as a person with a singular impact on physical education for girls and women in the state and, to a large degree, the nation. During Wilder's thirty-five years of service from 1921 through 1956, hundreds of young women physical education majors came to view her as their mentor and, in many cases, their ideal teacher and sportswoman.[1]

In her years at La Crosse, Wilder was instrumental in the development of the physical education curriculum and worked for the implementation of the recreation major, the health minor and the master's degree program in physical education. As a member of a small, cohesive faculty she performed all-school duties such as work on the committees on student loans and scholarships, curriculum, housing, and on various steering committees. She developed a leadership role in community organizations: The Red Cross, the Community Concert Association, the Y.W.C.A. and the Girl Scouts. Although she performed all these tasks admirably, the same might be said for a host of hard working professional women and men across the state. Yet while many faculty names have slipped into obscurity, Emma Lou Wilder remains an institution unto herself.

In the eyes of young women students drawn largely from the small towns and rural areas of Wisconsin, Wilder's uniqueness was enhanced by her eastern accent, her seemingly boundless energy, and her obvious love of mountain climbing, field hockey and tennis. These characteristics were nurtured during early childhood on a farm in South Woodstock, Vermont.

> Happy days on a farm home with trees to climb, animals to feed, horses to drive — learned to braid on a horse's tail — haylofts to jump in. Brooks and water had a special appeal. Special farm events helped to create a love for the out of doors. Sugaring, haying, etc.

After working her way through Randolph Vermont State Normal School by doing housework, Wilder obtained a position first in the rural schools and later in the Springfield City elementary schools. It was here that a friend suggested she pursue training in physical education. A first step was to complete a one year course at the Posse School of Gymnastics in Boston. This enabled her to secure a position on the Pittsburgh playgrounds while she continued to study at the University of Pittsburgh for the Bachelor of Science degree.

By the time Wilder arrived on the La Crosse campus in 1921, enabling legislation had been passed in more than forty states making health and physical education required subjects in the public schools. This was a reaction in large part to the fact that an alarming number of men had been rejected as physically unfit for military duty in World War I. Consequently, the demand for trained teachers contributed to a growing enrollment of physical education majors at La Crosse.

One of Wilder's first projects was to organize a Women's Athletic Association which came to be one of the school's most flourishing organizations.

particularly in a day when there was no intercollegiate athletic competition for women. Five years later, in recognition of her accomplishments and popularity, the *Racquet Yearbook* was dedicated to Miss Wilder:

> The Racquet Annual Staff of 1926 dedicates this book to Miss Emma L. Wilder who has taught fair play and good sportsmanship to the girls of the school through the organization which she has founded — Women's Athletic Association, whose own example of industry has been a creative spur to her students — whose leadership and high ideals of firmness and justice, and whose sweetness and nobility of character typify an ideal American woman.

During the twenties and thirties, she carried her enthusiasm for girls' sports and activities to all parts of the community and the state. She made frequent contributions to the various health and physical education publications in the state and worked vigorously to improve competitive play conditions for girls, particularly in basketball. In 1926, Wilder was elected president of the newly formed Wisconsin Physical Education Association and served a second term in 1928. This organization of public school teachers reflected the fact that La Crosse State Teachers College and the University of Wisconsin were the only institutions in the state preparing physical education teachers, with La Crosse graduates making up the majority of the membership.

World War II and the ensuing changes on all college campuses accented an already established pattern at La Crosse State. The enrollment of women students exceeded that of males from 1928-1952, with the exception of the years 1946-1950 when returning veterans swelled college enrollments across the nation. The high percentage of women students and the fact that high school physical education programs were separated by sex undoubtedly increased the impact of women teachers in professional preparation programs generally and, in particular, of outstanding women educators such as Emma Lou Wilder. They served as role models long before the term appeared in the literature.

A concomitant of increased enrollment was an increased need for campus housing. "When it became known that a new girls' dormitory was to be constructed on this campus, Miss Wilder's legion of friends and former students beseiged the administration with requests to name the new building for her." On November 28, 1949, the Board of Normal School Regents passed a resolution to name the new dormitory the Emma Lou Wilder Hall.

The relationship Miss Wilder shared with her students was professional yet warm, friendly and considerate. Her excellent rapport was attributed to her sympathetic, open, honest way, and to her receptive ear for students' problems. Many students stood in awe of her and felt respect and admiration for her way of life. She never demanded things of her students which she could not do herself.

During her tenure at La Crosse she organized and taught more than 25 different courses. When asked about the classes she enjoyed most, she replied:

> The outdoor work was always my love. I would list field hockey and tennis in first place, swimming and life saving close second. None of these had ever been in my own professional preparation. Many a night I saw bubbles in my dreams as I was anything but a swimmer. Summer Red Cross courses were a "must" for me.

She also attended various summer school sessions and received her master's degree from Harvard University.

One of her friends and colleagues described her teaching as follows:

> She prepared herself thoroughly. She knew that she wanted to teach and used every minute of teaching time. She worked at her teaching and had fun and pride in it. Since she had great concern for the students as individuals in her class, she planned for individuals as well as the group. Important to her work was her good physical health and condition. She knew how to play to recreate herself — and she did.

Emma Lou Wilder taught by precept and example. She taught her friends and colleagues as well as her students. All the comments of those whose lives she shared reflect the philosophy of Miss Wilder, but her own words provide the best summary.

> I believe that constructive living can be achieved by following some of these ideas. Keep busy with worthwhile activity and projects. Be community conscious — give and forget receiving. If you want friends, be a friend. Learn to live simply and you will live well. Actions speak louder than words. Don't expect to talk yourself into acceptance. When in doubt, mind your own business. Always spend a little less than what you make. (Lucky for me that this advice from my grandfather was followed.) Expect the best but plan for the worst. You never get something for nothing, so pay as you go. Look before you leap. Get the facts before passing judgment.

After thirty-five years of teaching, Emma Lou Wilder retired to her mountain home in Ouray, Colorado, where she rapidly became an integral part of the community. In 1976, she received the county Woman of the Year Award with the citation, "Ouray County Woman of the Year Award to Emma Lou Wilder, the Essence of an American, who has given so much of herself to the community."

In retirement she continues to live as characterized by a friend of long standing:

> Miss Wilder is an exciting person. When she steps into the room, life comes in. She made life richer than most because she planned carefully and no minutes were ever wasted — nor are they yet. She has an art of being wonderfully warm without being intimate. She has a habit of being interested — and always planned on taking her share to make any event she was involved in interesting. You might expect the interest to run down, but it never does. The world is too full of activity and beauty... she plans so she can be where it is.

Emma Lou Wilder: she came to teach — and she did.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. This essay is based on the author's personal recollection and on "Emma Lou Wilder: She Came to Teach," [Linda Thompson] Masters Thesis, University of Wisconsin-LaCrosse, 1972. All quotations are drawn directly from Thompson.

9. Bessie May Allen and Agnes Jones

by Bonnie McDonald

Two women have been responsible for the steady growth and development of the home economics program at University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point: Bessie May Allen and Agnes Jones.[1] Both deserve special recognition in any discussion of women in the UW system.

Bessie May Allen, a pioneer in the field of home economics, was born on 3 May 1882, in Castalin, Iowa, the only child of the village innkeeper and stage coach agent. Allen earned a diploma at Iowa State Teachers College at Cedar Falls, and B.S. and M.A. degrees from Columbia University. She did additional study at both the University of Chicago and the University of Hawaii.

She taught in Iowa in a rural school and at New Hartford High School before she returned as principal to the Castalin school she had once attended. She first taught home economics in a private girls' school in Whitby, Ontario. She also taught at Illinois State Normal School before joining the faculty of the Stevens Point Normal School in the fall of 1913.

Her arrival in Stevens Point coincided with the Board of Regents' approval of a major expansion of Old Main which was to add the east wing for "domestic sciences and arts" and an auditorium.

Bessie May Allen was one of those chiefly responsible for organizing the Wisconsin Home Economics Association. She served two terms as its president (1924-27).

Undoubtedly Allen was a forerunner of the current feminist movement. In an era when women took a back seat and men served in leadership roles, Allen was elected president of the College Faculty. Also, in the economic squeeze following the Depression of the 1930s, the Regents voted to curtail the home economics program at Stevens Point. However, Allen marshalled her forces and staked a defense zone around her program with the result that the following year this decision was reversed. The home economics program continues uninterrupted to this day. It is also of interest to note that when the state normal schools were empowered to grant four-year degrees in education, Bessie May Allen saw to it that the first two degrees went to home economics education graduates.

It is a tribute to the perseverance of Allen that home economics survived the lean years that came during her stewardship of the program. She was honored in her lifetime when one of the two student residences was named Allen Center. She died in Stevens Point on 4 February 1969.

Today the School of Home Economics continues to thrive under the leadership of Professor Agnes Jones, one of the most prominent women administrators at UW-Stevens Point.

Agnes Andersen Jones was born in Withee, Wisconsin, the oldest child of Mr. and Mrs. Sam Andersen. After earning her bachelor's degree from UW-Madison she taught in high school and continued her education on a part-time basis working toward her master's degree.

From 1943 to 1956, with the exception of one year, Jones was employed by UW-Madison. She served as an assistant librarian in the agricultural libr-

ary, supervised student teachers in home economics and taught courses in home economics while pursuing a doctoral program. The Ph.D. in education was awarded to her in 1954. Two years later she and her one-and-a-half-year-old son moved to Stevens Point.

When Jones arrived on the UW-Stevens Point campus, she learned that the home economics programs were not accredited. One of her first self-assigned tasks was to remedy this situation. Today all the programs in the school are accredited and recognized to be among the best in the nation.

The growth in home economics at UW-Stevens Point has been due to many factors. There is no doubt, however, that a major factor has been the tireless leadership, dedication, and persistence of Agnes Jones. She provided vision and strategy in developing new programs, has followed and supported the graduates, and guided and counseled the students. The expansion of the programs and efforts to attract young men into the school reflect current trends. The development of master's programs in the School of Home Economics has been aimed at better serving the educational needs of Wisconsin. The dramatic undergraduate enrollment increases in home economics during the Jones years resulted in a significant rise in the number of graduates, an increase of 1000 percent from 1956 to 1977.

The activities and achievements of the School of Home Economics at the UW-Stevens Point under her leadership divide themselves into three phases.

In the 1956-62 period, the department added a home economics vocational course so students would be eligible to teach in vocational home economics departments. The Department of Home Economics was accredited and was added to the list of approved institutions for the training of home economics teachers in 1959. A block program for student teaching was developed and instituted five years before any other department did so at UW-Stevens Point. The home economics facilities were remodeled and new equipment added. Beginning in 1961, the first graduate courses in home economics were offered. During this period the enrollment in home economics increased from 108 to 145 students.

During the 1962-68 interval, the home economics curriculum was studied and reorganized to provide a core of courses and opportunities for students to specialize in a subject matter area. The major in food and nutrition was approved in December 1966 and the M.S.T. (Master of Science in Teaching) in home economics was replaced by the M.S. in home economics education. A period of rapid growth was beginning and the department was enriched through various federal grants which were received during this period. The enrollment increased from 165 to 331 and the number of faculty with doctorates increased from one to three.

The period from 1968-77, comprises a time of growth in enrollment and graduates, in increased faculty and new facilities. The Department of Home Economics became the School of Home Economics on 1 August 1970. New home economics facilities were planned in a new building and occupation of the new College of Professional Studies building took place in August 1971. A major in home economics in business was approved and initiated in 1971. The number of faculty with doctorates increased from three in the 1962-68 period to six in 1968-77. The enrollment in the school has increased from 357 in 1968 to 700 in 1977. The school began to expand and extend be-

yond the university walls to serve and work with the community — in industries and agencies.

The school received five Wisconsin Rural Rehabilitation Scholarships which awarded each student about six hundred dollars per year beginning in 1974-75 and has continued to the present time. Outside funding to the school has reached nearly five million dollars.

In 1977 the School of Home Economics celebrated seventy five years of service. With the continuing leadership of Agnes Jones, supported by faculty members with strengths in all areas of the profession, one may expect the UW-Stevens Point to maintain its position at the frontiers of the profession of home economics.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. This essay is based on the following sources.
The early history of home economics and information about the Bessie May Allen years were based primarily on a report written by Bessie May Allen about the time of her retirement in 1952 — "A Half Century of Home Economics at Central State College, Stevens Point, Wisconsin."
In the School of Home Economics office there is a record book started by Bessie May and continued since her time — "Home Economics Graduates, 1903 —," which contains lists of graduates. Gleanings of committee minutes, program documents, accreditations, reports and the like provided bits of useful information.
A personal interview with Agnes Jones contributed information regarding her career in education.

10. Ruth B. Glassow: Teacher-Scholar

by Mary L. Remley

Following her 1909 graduation from Wausau High School, Ruth Bertha Glassow attended a two-week Teacher's Institute, then took an examination which at that time qualified her for an elementary school teaching certificate. Her professional teaching career began in a one-room school in the small rural community of Weston, where she taught the usual "three Rs" to all eight elementary grades. The following year she moved to another position in the village of Kelly and again taught all eight grades in a one-room building. After two years of teaching, however, in 1912 she decided to enter the University of Wisconsin at Madison with a degree in journalism as her goal.

As a journalism student one of Glassow's early assignments was the reporting of women's sports news for the university newspaper, the *Daily Cardinal*. In making the rounds of various athletic events for women at the university she discovered that selection for a class or varsity team was a mark of distinction. The stigma usually attached to the athletic woman of the era apparently was not prevalent on the University of Wisconsin campus. Glassow herself had not been particularly encouraged in earlier years to pursue her interest in sports as this was viewed as tomboyish. Because she enjoyed sports of all kinds and found the athletic environment a positive rather than a negative one, she decided to change her major from journalism to physical education at the end of her freshman year. She completed requirements for the physical education major and graduated with a bachelor of arts degree in 1916.

After two years in the Gary, Indiana, public school system she accepted a position as instructor in the Women's Physical Education Department at Illinois Normal University and embarked on a career of college and university teaching that spanned more than four decades. Glassow assumed responsibilities in both the required program of physical education for all women students as well as the teacher training program. She also established a Women's Athletic Association, an organization which promoted recreational and competitive sports for women on campus.

After a teaching stint at Western State Teachers College in Macomb, Illinois, Glassow recognized the need for further study and left in 1923 to begin graduate work at Teacher's College, Columbia University in New York City.

In 1924 Glassow returned to Illinois as assistant professor of physical education at the University of Illinois-Champagne. One of her first teaching responsibilities was a kinesiology class, assigned to her "because there was no one else to teach it and she had had an undergraduate course in the subject."[1] When she went back to her class notes for help, however, she discovered very little information in them. Glassow rallied to the situation and developed her own ideas and resources for the kinesiology course. Most textbooks of this period were devoted to analysis of simple muscular actions, primarily those concerned with gymnastic movements.[2] Glassow was interested, however, in the study of the basic principles of movement and the practical application of knowledge about human movement.

In 1930 she returned to her alma mater, the University of Wisconsin-Madison as associate professor in the Department of Physical Education for Women. Glassow smilingly recalls her conversation with Blanche Trilling, then director of the department. Trilling indicated that she could not possibly offer Glassow a position as professor, the rank she held at Oregon College since several other women who had been in the department for some time held lesser ranks and it would be unfair to them. Nor would she be able to match Glassow's Oregon salary. Glassow's response to those concerns was perhaps typical of the dedication to their profession of many young women at that time. She indicated that she would be able to live on the salary offered and she really did not care what she was called.[4] She accepted the position with the stipulation, however, that she could teach kinesiology. Her interest and knowledge in the area had broadened since the initial experience at the University of Illinois and she wanted to continue with it. Thus began a thirty-two year tenure at the University of Wisconsin in which Glassow continued to push back the frontiers of knowledge not only in kinesiology, but in physical education measurement and evaluation, child growth and motor development, and motor learning.

Like many other individuals in the early developing years of physical education, Glassow's interests and energies moved in many directions. "In those years we just did our job — whatever had to be done," she said. However, her major teaching and research interests fell into the following broad categories: fundamentals of movement, motor development, and measurement and evaluation.

Early physical education programs were comprised almost entirely of gymnastic exercises, and students were required to participate regularly in these activities over varying time periods. When sports were introduced into school curricula, these were often offered to students only after fulfillment of a gymnastics requirement. As Glassow worked with students in physical education she became convinced "that there [were] certain skills and knowledge which should be included in the curriculum."[5] In informal discussion with Margaret H'Doubler, a faculty member at the University of Wisconsin who was working with new ideas about the teaching of dance, she discovered that the two of them were considering similar approaches to the development of fundamental skills. H'Doubler and Glassow agreed to meet for a Fundamentals Workshop in the summer of 1927. Others included in the group were Elizabeth Halsey, University of Iowa, and Betty Thompson, Oregon State College. Each of them had been developing courses emphasizing different approaches to physical conditioning and methods of increasing physical skills. In their view more attention had to be paid to helping students understand the mechanics of their bodies and how to use them to best advantage.[6]

The group developed a list of common movement skills and a brief outline of the principles underlying the efficient accomplishment of these skills. The two following summers they met again and continued to refine their ideas and to develop courses. According to Glassow, the courses were designed to develop "general habits of response" because as Glassow said, "no department of physical education can hope to teach all skills which its students may wish to use; any year may see the introduction of a new game, of a machine requiring new combinations of movements."[6]

Glassow's study in this area culminated in 1932 with the publication of *Fundamentals in Physical Education*, a textbook designed for use in physical education classes for college freshmen. Body movements were classified into four basic groups and factors contributing to the successful performance of activities within these classifications were detailed. Other topics such as timing and rhythm in movement and care and use of the body were included. Many of the ideas explicated by Glassow provided the foundation for basic physical education courses for college women throughout the country.

Glassow and her students had early begun to classify skills into categories and attempted "to find fundamental principles of mechanics and physics which could be applied to the performance of motor skills in each category."[7] Glassow was a pioneer in using motion pictures for analyzing physical skills. "Miss Glassow recognized that a careful analysis of skills filmed at high camera speeds could reveal the actual details of performance that were often not mentioned in textbook descriptions of skills."[8] Not only did Glassow recognize the value of film for skill analysis, but also the importance of some kind of apparatus for enlarging the pictures for ease of study. The apparatus developed by Glassow and Marion Broer, a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin, was a milestone in the study of movement skills at that time. The use of motion pictures is standard practice in physical education research and teaching today.

Study of kinesthetic perception in learning motor skills, identification and description of joint actions, and application of the laws of physics to body movement provided continual improvement in techniques for teaching motor skills. Glassow's teaching experiences and research in these areas culminated in the publication of a kinesiology textbook co-authored with John M. Cooper in 1963.[9]

For Glassow, the objective of physical education was the achievement of specific abilities and patterns of motor behavior. She believed that the profession should "be able to prove that participation in physical education activities insures better health, better coordination, [and] development of qualities of good citizenship."[10] Glassow believed teaching methods would also improve when achievement of objectives could be measured rather than simply be estimated.[11] "For the student who has attained all abilities which are considered essential, there need be no required instruction, no required additional skills. That student should look upon the physical education equipment as a woman's athletic club."[12] Exemption from physical education for any reason other than poor health was rare, but Glassow maintained that this approach would increase students' interest in classes and avoid repetition which often accounted for students' lack of interest.

Many of her ideas were incorporated in a book written with Marion Broer and published in 1938. *Measuring Achievement in Physical Education* offered sound, practical information to physical education teachers, for, as the authors noted, "the well prepared physical educator will know how to evaluate tests, will know what tests are available, will know how to use test results in their teaching and will have a vocabulary sufficient to read research on tests and teaching procedures with understanding."[13] The book was one of the few available that offered the practical materials to assist the physical educator in becoming well prepared.

Glassow has served the profession of physical education in numerous ways other than as an outstanding teacher and researcher. She has been active in many professional organizations, giving her time and energy unstintingly as a committee member and officer.

As a member of the physical education faculty at the University of Wisconsin, Glassow took the lead in promoting concern for improved programs and instruction, as well as reformulating philosophy and objectives and integrating theory and practice. She succeeded in demonstrating the great utility of kinesiological information to the teacher and the close relationship between such substantive areas of study as kinesiology, measurement, and methods of instruction. As chair of the departmental Committee on Measurement and Evaluation, she not only gave valuable assistance to faculty and students in solving testing problems but also provided the initiative for developing improved instruction in the required physical education program. For many years she chaired the department's Graduate Committee and was responsible for establishing a graduate program leading to the doctorate in physical education.[14]

Glassow retired in 1962 and continued an active professional life as a visiting lecturer, as a workshop consultant, as a speaker at professional meetings, and as a writer. She apparently followed the advice of a penciled note found in her personal file: "He who ceases to learn also ceases to be a good teacher of others." Retirement for Glassow meant merely a change in responsibilities. And, at the age of eighty-six, she may still be found in the library of Lathrop Hall where she continues to satisfy her inquiring mind with work on a history of the Department of Physical Education for Women.

Ruth Glassow was honored in 1964 with the Luther Halsey Gulick Medal, the highest honor bestowed on its members by the American Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation. The citation for the award reads:

> Ruth B. Glassow has served the profession of physical education with distinction as a teacher, research specialist, and author. . . . Yet her greatest contribution may be her inspiration and influence on her graduate students, where her keen mind and skillful guidance have stimulated hundreds to higher standards of excellence.[15]

No accolade could be more appropriate for one of physical education's outstanding teacher scholars. For almost fifty years she worked toward pushing back the frontiers of knowledge in diverse areas of her chosen field.

Notes to Chapter 10

1. Taped interview with Ruth B. Glassow, 11 December 1974.
2. John M. Cooper and Ruth B. Glassow, *Kinesiology* (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Company, 1963), p. 19.
3. Personal conversation with Ruth B. Glassow, 29 April 1977.
4. Ruth B. Glassow, *Fundamentals in Physical Education* (Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger, 1932), p. III.

5. Betty Thompson, "Fundamental Camp," *Physical Education Alumnae Association News Journal* (University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1930), p. 60.

6. Ruth B. Glassow, "Basic Considerations in Planning the College Program for Women," *Research Quarterly* (May 1930), p. 116.

7. Elizabeth Anne Atwater, "The Development and Use of Skill Element Measures in the Teaching and Evaluation of Projectile Skills at the University of Wisconsin," (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1963), p. 18.

8. Ibid. p. 22.

9. Cooper and Glassow, op. cit.

10. Ruth B. Glassow, "The Need for Definite Objectives in Physical Education," Paper presented at the Inland Empire Conference, Spokane, Washington, April 1928, p. 2.

11. Ruth B. Glassow, "Basic Considerations in Planning the College Program for Women," *Research Quarterly* (May 1930), p. 115.

12. Ibid. p. 114.

13. Ruth B. Glassow and Marion R. Broer, *Measuring Achievement in Physical Education* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1938), pp. 10-11.

14. Alumnae tribute to Ruth B. Glassow on the occasion of her retirement, 1962.

15. "Luther H. Gulick Award," *Journal of Health, Physical Education and Recreation* (June 1964), p. 46.

11. Helen Clarke and Social Work

by Vivian Wood

No one would describe Helen Clarke at eighty two as "a nice docile old lady." Most people who have known her would laugh at that description. So would Helen Clarke.

Professor Clarke, who was known for twenty five years as the University of Wisconsin's "one woman department of social work," is proud of her role in helping social work become a professional, public accepted field. She is a woman who had great influence on the form that the School of Social Work at the University of Wisconsin-Madison has taken. Much of its national reputation can be traced to its strong foundations in the social sciences.

Helen Clarke, in 1977, after a dozen years of retirement, is still the feisty, forthright woman she was in the forty-five years she taught social work in Wisconsin. Her directness may have made enemies on occasion; it also won her respect and admiration. On the occasion of her retirement from the university in 1965, a former colleague observed, "Your capacity to look at yourself as unflinchingly as you looked at others was much admired by me."

Clarke is a woman who knows herself well — both her strengths and her weaknesses, and she has never tried to hide either. She set rigorous standards for her students — and for herself. The good students remember and appreciate that rigor. And some of them have made it a part of their own professional lives.

An early student remembers Clarke's courses as ones which "separated the adults from the children." "You have a gift," she wrote, "which is fortunate to encounter in a teacher — idealism which is also practical and realistic, and thus genuinely inspiring forever."

One former student wrote on the occasion of Clarke's retirement: "I have been given the high privilege of influencing another generation of our profession — and hope that I may in some small measure contribute to my students as you have given to me." Another wrote: "The most vital lesson you taught me was one you practiced rather than preached. You are a perfect example that learning must never cease, that the traditional way is not necessarily the best way."

Clarke was persuaded to come to the University of Wisconsin in 1920 by sociology professor John L. Gillin to take part in a two-year demonstration project on the teaching of social work. Gillin, an authority on poverty criminology and an advocate of more skill in handling social problems, persuaded the Red Cross which had conducted emergency social work training during World War I to fund the two-year demonstration project at the University of Wisconsin.

Clarke left her job in community planning at the Division Office of the American Red Cross in Chicago to come to Madison to teach the first distinctly social work courses at the university. Gillin, a reformer concerned about social problems, had taught sociology courses with a social work slant and was anxious to expand social work education at the university. Clarke was the first of the social workers he brought to the university to implement these plans.

After the two-year demonstration, Clarke was hired as an instructor. She taught undergraduate courses, found field placements in such places as the Family Service Agency, the Y, and the settlement house, and supervised the undergraduate students placed there. She had about fifteen students in case work and approximately fifteen in group work. In 1977, there were 360 undergraduate majors in social work, 280 working for M.S.S.W. degrees and 40 for Ph.D. degrees in social welfare.

Clarke came to Madison with a B.A. degree in English from Smith College. She took a one-year leave of absence to get her master's degree in social work from the University of Chicago in 1926 and took an additional year at the State School for Dependent Children where she started a foster child placement service. At Chicago, she was influenced by two pioneer social work educators, Edith Abbott and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, both of whom were lawyers, and by sociologists Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess. She did her thesis with Burgess — an ecological study entitled "Uniform Areas for City Wide Agencies."

Her approach to social work education was also influenced by her experience with settlement houses, Clarke explains. Her first job was with Henry Street Settlement in New York City where her mentor was Lillian Wald, founder of the Henry Street Settlement and a pioneer in settlement work. "Ms. Wald had an enormous talent for getting the wealthy interested in ghetto conditions," Clarke remembers. "She had a vivid and forthright way of getting people to see the labor conditions of the day — the plight of immigrants — the poor living in tenements." The social settlement movement emphasized citizen responsibility for dealing with these problems.

Clarke came to the University of Wisconsin in the heyday of John R. Commons, Edwin Witte and Selig Perlman. The fledgling science of sociology definitely took a backseat to the prestigious discipline of economics. Undergraduate social work education in the recently formed Department of Sociology had little prestige at a growing university already feeling its greatness — a greatness based on research and graduate education.

But there was increasing pressure from the Wisconsin Department of Public Welfare to develop social work education. Clarke was a member of the LaFollette Committee, which was set up to study the welfare system in Wisconsin. This was during the Depression when the social work faculty (still a part of the sociology department) developed institutes to train relief administrators to run the New Deal programs designed to deal with the Depression. Clarke remembers the training institutes as one of the major contributions she and her colleagues made to the social welfare field. A number of the students who took these courses became prominent social workers in the state welfare department and nationally.

During the 1930s, Clarke went to Dean George Sellery and asked what the place of a woman without a Ph.D. was in the university. The Ph.D. is a credential, but not essential; the thing to do is to write, every teacher should write, she reports him as saying. And write she did. Her first major work, *Social Legislation*, which resulted from the influence of Abbott and Breckinridge, was published in 1940 by the D. Appleton-Century Company. It was well received, and a second edition was issued in 1957.

John R. Commons, by then an emeritus professor, wrote of Clarke in the Forward to *Social Legislation*:

> I have seen Helen Clarke's methods of teaching. She is an investigator with her students. They are not routine workers repeating what is told them — they begin their study by learning how to improve the conditions and the attitudes of men, women and children who are most in need of improvement in their homes and in their work. Every case of dependency or maladjustment is a new case — nothing just like it ever happened before. Rightly understood, therefore, everybody should be a 'social worker' — this means, every person should be able to place himself in the position of another and thereby understand why the other acts as he does.
>
> Like everybody who starts with individual cases of need or distress, Miss Clarke realizes that the individual and family are conditioned in their choices and alternatives by the social environment of which they are a part. The science of environment is sociology.

Because course materials in the budding profession of social work were scarce, Clarke prepared a number of casebooks for use in her classes. Most of these never got beyond the mimeographed stage but were widely used by students. Her second major book, *Principles and Practice of Social Work*, was originally written for the University Extension Division. It was published in 1947 as a beginning textbook for a field that was now seeing itself as a profession that should not be left to amateurs. Clarke's Preface to that book indicates that she viewed the problem of social work in the Jane Addams' tradition of "securing a better environment for the people of the earth." Clarke wrote, "The primary function of social work is to help individuals and groups meet the demands of their immediate world or to help in changing that world."

Clarke reports that this second book did not sell well. It is not surprising inasmuch as American social work after the 1930s made a radical departure from the social problems approach "and adopted a psychiatric stance in regard to the client — now his (or her) problems were viewed as personality difficulties and the major treatment system was a modified form of psychotherapy."[1]

The University of Wisconsin resisted the national pressure to separate social work from social science departments and to adopt a psychiatric model of social work education based on Freudian theory. The university finally yielded on the first point in 1946 with the Regents approving a Master's degree in Social Work and establishing the School of Social Work as an autonomous unit within the College of Letters and Sciences. The school was accredited by the Council on Social Work Education the following year. The failure to adopt the psychiatric model resulted in some lean years for social work at Wisconsin when other social work schools were getting federal funds.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, the pendulum in American social work finally swung toward the ideas long held at Wisconsin — that individual social environment was the major factor in the client's inability to function effectively. This view placed the focus of social work education on social problems and the factors producing them and produced "a curriculum heavily loaded with social science material."[2] The emphasis today is on a synthesis of the formerly distinct methods of social work.

During the years when Clarke stayed steadfastly with the social problems approach, the newly trained social workers trained in the psychiatric model of social work education at other universities must have thought her old-fashioned. By the time her approach was vindicated, she was nearing retirement.

Despite her publishing, Clarke's salary always lagged behind those of her male colleagues. She came to Wisconsin in 1920 at $2,400 or $2,500 a year and retired in 1965 making around $9,000 a year. In the 1960s assistant professors were being hired at beginning salaries higher than hers. She did get promoted to full professor eventually. "Believe me, I earned it!" she remembers. There is still a tinge of bitterness in her remembrance of a system in which males got promoted and salary increases "just because they were men."

Clarke followed Dean Sellery's advice to publish, but she was first and foremost a teacher. In the days when the proportion of professors who were women was even smaller than today, Clarke served as a model for women graduate students. Dr. Kathryn Clarenbach, an activist in the modern day women's movement, told the writer recently that she took every course Helen Clarke ever taught. "To me she was a model."

In 1965, when Professor Clarke retired, Clarenbach wrote: "Today you will be held liable, for better or for worse, for all kinds of students, and I insist on being numbered among them. I never can quite separate the teacher from the course. Both the casework and group work approaches have been valuable to me over the years. But more significant for me has been your concept of democracy and of citizen responsibility which you teach by precept and example."

Clarke's popularity as a teacher continued until her retirement. She was especially close to foreign students. At the time of her retirement she undertook the co-authorship of a book on *The Foreign Student in the United States*.[1] Her co-author was Professor Martha Ozawa from Japan who earned M.S.S.W. and Ph.D. degrees in social work at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. In that book, published in 1970 by the School of Social Work, the School's director, at that time, Professor Martin Loeb, wrote of Clarke:

> A simple comment about fifty years of teaching and writing does not in the least present the character of Professor Clarke. She is an ardent campaigner for good causes. Her effectiveness is the result of a firm but friendly approach. She is enthusiastic, but does not tilt at windmills. She is fearless but no adventurer. She is the living example of a great citizen.

Loeb ended his introduction to this book by Clarke and her student from Japan:

> ...these two people, one a lively, elderly lady of the new world, the other a lively young lady of the old Asian world, were great colleagues. That they made great colleagues of each other is apparent in this book.

Indeed, that colleague relationship continues. In a recent exchange of letters with Clarke, Ozawa, now on the faculty of the George Warren Brown School of Social Work at Washington University in St. Louis, wrote:

> I know I am one of very few students anywhere in the world who is blessed with the opportunity to be able to personally carry on ideals of a former professor into a new era, and apply and implement them in a changing society. I cannot thank you enough for the highest level of educator-student relationship you have given me.
>
> I know I will be "living" and maintaining your faith and ideals in my future. You will live in me forever.

In her later years, Clarke is putting behind her the parts of her career that were disappointing — remembering instead the positive facets of what she

refers to as "my job." Her career at the university was one she carved out for herself, and she is appreciative of the fact that she had a job that fitted her well, where she did not have to do what she could not do well.

She recognizes that her outspoken manner and habit of never mincing words may have kept her from accomplishing some of the things she would have liked to have done. She realizes, on the other hand, that it was only by being the kind of person she is that she was able to do what she did.

A woman needed a bit of ruggedness, a touch of spunkiness, and a lot of courage to stand up for what she believed, in order to survive in the male-dominated world in which Clarke carved out her academic career. She had all these traits; she survived, maintained her integrity, and made her mark. Having done so makes it just a little easier for the next generation of women in academia.

Notes to Chapter 11

1. E. E. LeMasters, "Social Work Education at the University of Wisconsin," in *A Resource for Discovery: The University of Wisconsin Madison on Its 125th Year* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), p. 251.
2. LeMasters, p. 253.
3. Helen I. Clarke and Martha Olson, *The Foreign Student in the United States* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin School of Social Work, 1929).

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12. Edith J. Cartwright: Dean Among Deans

by Patricia A. Mertens

In the autumn of 1909, the eighth Wisconsin State Normal School opened its doors in La Crosse, Wisconsin. As early as 1910, President Cotton was concerned about the welfare of the women students. The *La Crosse Tribune*, in a retrospective on the school, reported on 12 April 1958, "In a report to the Board of Regents, he (President Cotton) pointed out three needs of the young college: better equipment for the library, something to cover the sand so that the trees and shrubs would grow, and a dormitory for women. In 1914 he reiterated the need for a dormitory and asked that he be permitted to appoint a dean of women, saying, 'Without these we cannot fill our duty to the young women entrusted to our care.' At that time, women outnumbered men students three to one."[1]

From the time of the school's first faculty meeting in September, 1909, until the present, the administration and faculty of the La Crosse institution have concerned themselves not only with general policy and curriculum, but with student life as well. The University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, and specifically its student personnel workers, have been known for their concern for the total range of students' experiences on campus. Edith J. Cartwright constantly showed this care for students, especially the women students. For twenty-eight years Dean Cartwright served the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse and assisted in the growth and development of the student personnel division.[1]

Edith J. Cartwright attended public school in Eau Claire and was graduated from Eau Claire High School in 1925. Her desire for higher education was fulfilled in September, 1925, when she enrolled at La Crosse State Normal School, in the last class to be certified under the three-year physical education program.

Edith Cartwright participated fully in the activities offered by the physical education department. Believing in the importance of increasing one's physical skill, she took an active part in the Women's Athletic Association which had been organized in 1923 under the leadership of Emma Lou Wilder. Cartwright was impressed by Wilder's teaching methods and her ability to understand and counsel students. She completed the three-year physical education course and was certified to teach. She was graduated with honors from La Crosse State Teachers College at the school's nineteenth annual commencement exercises in June, 1928.

Cartwright began her teaching career that fall when she was employed by the Antigo, Wisconsin, public school system. She recalls that her monthly salary was $133.33. For this salary she taught physical education and health in the senior and junior high school and physical education in the six grammar schools in the city. In 1934 she took a teaching position in Wisconsin Rapids but returned two years later to Antigo where she was employed as Dean of Girls and girls' physical education teacher in the senior high school. It was here that she gained the experience of working with students in a one-to-one counseling relationship.

All during this period Cartwright continued her education by completing extension courses from the University of Wisconsin and enrolling in summer sessions at La Crosse State Teachers College. She completed the fourth year of the physical education program and the requirements for her academi minor, English, and graduated with honors in March, 1933, with a Bachelor of Education degree.

During the summer of 1941, Cartwright began graduate work at Northwestern University and in 1943 received an M.A. in Personnel and Guidance. Then began twenty-eight years of rich and rewarding work in college student personnel.

In the fall of 1941 she returned to La Crosse as the fifth Dean of Women, her talent for working with young women had been well recognized. She taught health education in addition to her responsibilities as Dean of Women. Jean Foss, now Assistant Vice Chancellor at La Crosse, recalls:

> When I was a student at La Crosse (1944-1948), any student personnel services which existed were almost solely through Miss Cartwright's efforts. It was she who was concerned with creating a positive image of the woman physical educator. She strove to create a better cultural and social climate in the school. The results seem modest when compared to the university in the 1970's, but what La Crosse had was due to Miss Cartwright.

From her appointment in September, 1941, until her retirement in June, 1969, Cartwright's efforts were in the best interests of women. She was eager to know each woman personally and had a feeling of responsibility for each of them. Cartwright believed that extracurricular activities contributed to a balanced college experience. She wanted students to be experienced leaders — as well as followers. She wanted them to interact with faculty and other students.

Dean Cartwright guided women through difficult times, whether academic, financial or social. When financial emergencies arose, Cartwright seemed to know where students could get aid quickly. The Dean of Women's Office also placed women students in part time jobs in private homes or the community. World War II began shortly after Cartwright assumed her post in La Crosse. One of the anecdotes is told about those war years:

> During the war when there was a total of eight men students enrolled at the college, Dean Cartwright saw to it that the women students had opportunity for social interaction. She provided bus transportation for the women students to Camp McCoy for the Saturday night dances. Not only did she provide the transportation but she went along and danced the evening away herself. In fact, on one occasion, after having danced several dances with a young man from Georgia, he said, "Man, that's the best one I done yet."

Living facilities for women continued to be a problem at UW-La Crosse and Cartwright, like President Cotton years earlier, pressed for additional dormitory space. As Dean of Women she informed President Rexford Mitchell of the need. Norene Smith, Cartwright's first Assistant Dean, and now Associate Dean of Students, recalls:

> Miss Cartwright was a combination of a fiery and a gentle person. She did not hesitate to use her emotions and/or vocabulary to emphasize a point or an issue in which she believed. Her firm stands were evident particularly in discussions with President Mitchell when she disagreed with him. Mitchell began his career as a debator and on many occasions Cartwright, with her verbal stance, won a debate with him.

Her efforts for additional dormitory space were successful, and in 1951 Emma Lou Wilder Hall was completed. Other women's residence halls followed; each was planned, furnished and supervised under Cartwright's leadership. In 1970, after her retirement, Cartwright reflected on residence hall living as a wonderful educational experience, "It is learning to live with others, understanding others and really understanding yourself and the kind of person you are."

The kind of person Cartwright was during those years is reflected in recollections of people who knew her then. Norene Smith remembers:

> Miss Cartwright was always a lady — never a rebel (rebel in this case meaning working outside the system). She was a model for other women faculty as well as for women students in her ladylike image. She showed them that it was possible to love sports activities and the out-of-doors without reducing her "ladyness" to something less. Her laugh was always infectious but never raucous.

Miss Cartwright was an advocate for better educational conditions for women students. She saw to it that educational programs were planned for residence halls at a time when students were ordinarily only *housed* in residence halls. She tenaciously held to the academic advising of women students and was convinced that she could advise "her girls" academically better than some academician who may not have cared as much for them as total persons.

No area of student life escaped her care. Cartwright encouraged the women students to accept responsibilities and was instrumental in the development of several women's organizations on campus. Her office staff increased until there were four assistant deans of women. Cartwright relied on a highly qualified staff to accomplish the aims of her department in keeping with changing attitudes. She was advisor to several campus organizations: The Associated Women Students, which was preceded by the Women's Self-Government Association; the Panhellenic Council, which consists of representatives of the national sororities on campus; Ratom, a senior women's honor society; and the residence hall staffs in the seven women's residence halls.

Edith Cartwright's interest went beyond the confines of UW-La Crosse, and she was an active member of several professional organizations which aimed to support high educational standards. Among these were The Wisconsin Education Association, the National Education Association, Delta Kappa Gamma and the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors (NAWDAC). In 1970 she was one of twenty-five women to receive a special citation from NAWDAC. To qualify for one of the special awards, these women had spent at least thirty-six years in education, twenty-five of them in the guidance personnel area.

Dean Cartwright was very pleased when, in 1969, a $500 scholarship (for students demonstrating significant service to the school) was established in her honor by the La Crosse branch of the American Association of University Women. In the same year, Cartwright received the Governor's Service Award, "in behalf of the people of Wisconsin, in acknowledgement of and grateful appreciation for twenty-eight years of devoted service and individual contribution toward an efficient and effective operation of our State government."

Other honors have come to Cartwright. On her twenty-fifth anniversary as Dean of Women, the Associated Women Students dedicated the annual

Mother's Day Weekend to Cartwright. And on 26 February 1969, the student union at La Crosse was named Cartwright Center by action of the Board of Regents of the Wisconsin State Universities and at the recommendation of the Student Centers Board, "in recognition of her outstanding leadership and contributions to the student life program." A portrait of Edith J. Cattwright, Dean of Women, 1941-1969, hangs in the Indian Commons of Cartwright Center.

Shortly after her resignation in 1969, which was accepted "with great reluctance" by President Samuel G. Gates, the title Dean Emeritus was conferred upon Edith Cartwright.

She was a leader who dedicated her life to helping people. Her interest, concern and love for others is unlimited. As Maurice Graff, Vice Chancellor Emeritus at La Crosse expressed, "A world filled with people like Carty would be a wonderful world indeed."

Notes to Chapter 12

1. This report was taken from a master's degree seminar paper entitled "Edith J. Cartwright, Dean Among Deans," by Patricia A. Mertens. The information was compiled from audio and video tape interviews with Miss Cartwright and from her personal scrapbooks. She was born in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, on 5 November 1906. Edith Cartwright is currently living in La Crosse, Wisconsin, actively involved in university and community activities.

13. The Incomparable Mary Elizabeth Smith

by Helen Corneli

Like so many university stalwarts of her generation, Mary Elizabeth Smith had a rural background.[1] She was born in 1905, in Yankton, South Dakota, of a large farm family. She attended Yankton College and Normal School alternately with teaching in country schools, and then embarked on a life of teaching Latin and English, interspersed with graduate school at Minnesota and Iowa. By 1950, when she received her Ph.D. from Iowa, she was concentrating on literature and poetry, always her great love. Her thesis, *The Function of Natural Phenomena in the Poetry of Robert Frost*, continued to be meaningful to her and others throughout her academic life.

She came to Stevens Point in 1950, but because of an enrollment drop, was "farmed out," as she always put it, to the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire for a year. She returned as assistant director of the Primary Education Division and soon became the associate director, remaining in that position until 1962. She served as the first director of freshman English at UW-Stevens Point from 1964 to 1967, relinquishing the position with no great sorrow to return to full-time teaching until her retirement in 1974. She lived less than a year past her retirement. But the biographical facts say little about the essential quality of her life. Let those who knew her speak of that.

A skilled reporter observes her in her office, "outlasting students who come and go and the teachers who call up." She sees Smith's "benign" agreement with student concerns, the tolerance that greets what may have been trivial matters, the cordiality to colleagues, and the generous assumption of the role of advisor to advisors in which she was often cast.

A former student-become-friend describes her classroom mien — "a lightning succession of glances, registering here bemusement, there delight, there mock amazement." He speaks of her method — "a ubiquitous demand for evidence" coupled with freedom for students to feel literature, which "conjured up feelings, sensations, and emotions." Most tellingly he describes her demonstration that "one condition of friendship is understanding..... [which] comes from attending to the other [person]."

An employer speaks of the "deep respect she has for human personality" as the "most significant trait in her character...the thing which makes her a born teacher." And she was a born teacher. A former student, now teaching humanities at a major Big Ten university, calls her the only successful inductive teacher she has ever known. She reports being drained after the total involvement of each modern poetry class. "I don't know how she did it. It was some sort of magic. She seemed to give off a sense that she knew a secret, and we badly wanted to find it out." She also remembers going out to Smith's house on Saturday afternoons and reading Robert Frost aloud to her. "I would read, and then we would talk. And I learned. As I look back it was a privilege afforded to very few students." But that privilege was extended, in some degree, to all those who cooperated in her classes. She got away from the assignment, grade, carrot-stick approach. A student — or a friend —

might end up hearing Paul Robeson's Othello, or Schnabel records, or reading Mary Shumway's poetry, in the course of an evening at her house.

She told us once, in a department meeting, that it took her three times as long to prepare for a discussion class as to prepare the most thorough lecture. She reflected. "At least," she said, "at *least* three times as long." And the many colleagues who borrowed her meticulous question and discussion guides can testify to the value of that time.

I shared her office for a fine year, and remember seeing, to my astonishment, students come in, advance to her desk, and without an introductory word, 'speak' poetry. One recited all of "Fern Hill." At the end, she smiled, Smith smiled and nodded, and the student left. Later the student told me that that had not been an assignment. Smith had simply suggested that memorizing was rewarding. She further said, "I learned to listen in her class. We read aloud our choice of poems from the modern poets she called 'the uncertain immortals.' Miss Smith told us just to read, not to hand out a copy. So people did, and I had to learn to listen."

I still meet teachers of various subjects, out in the state who say, "Miss Smith taught me to read." They mean reflective, meaning-charged reading. I met a young man the other day who had been in the graduate class that she reluctantly took over for a sick colleague, the spring after her January retirement. ("Never again," she told friends, for she resented the renewed demands on her time and energy.) But for the student it was a memorable experience. "She introduced me to Ibsen," he said. "I had never really read him before."

Several students who look back on her classes with admiration and affection call her "sly." "She had her canny ways," said one associate of many years. Canny she was. She had strong, consistently held principles, but she used both tact and tactics to reach her goals.

Her great ability was to encourage with enthusiasm and sensitivity. Although she told close friends that she didn't write letters, she did. Here is an example:

> I keep considering what are the shades and colors of your world. Whatever they are and wherever you are I hope and believe that your high talents and sensitive humanity are flowering according to their promise.

A fine poet on our faculty always took her poems to Smith for a final reading before she could see them as "all right." An art photographer says that her pleasure in his projects steadied and fed his creative impulses. Many faculty speak of the large amount of time they spent in her office, just talking things over. Her judgment was unerring; she expressed it in few, precise words. She was known for the incisive question.

She was always egalitarian. She didn't want to be called Dr. Smith. She stood consistently against false status and was one of the stalwarts who helped make the UW-Stevens Point faculty the only one in the system that voted against rank, which was imposed in 1955. So she became a full professor, against her will. She used her Ph.D. status to defend the worth of non-Ph.D.'s. She worked, at every level, against merit pay. In 1964 and 1965 she dealt directly with the president of the then State University asking that her salary increase be limited to that amount which was allocated across the board. She wrote him eloquently, testifying to her "deep concern over the

erosive effects on professional people of any real or imagined linkage between salary increases and professional merit."

She was never afraid of an unpleasant situation. She didn't hesitate to take on an administrator, but one could be sure that her position was not based on self interest. For example, she fought long, hard, and consistently for lowering freshman English class size. The following letter, concerning the possibility of early retirement, is pure Smith.

> In response to the nudging question, "Do I have any plans to retire early," let me make clear that my answer is an emphatic No! as long as the present game rules prevail. My deepest loyalty and allegiance are to the overworked and dedicated colleagues in my department. In no time during my twenty three years here has the English Department been adequately staffed. The dean and Chancellor's priorities do not now nor have they in the past acknowledged this.
>
> I see no way, under the present priorities, in which my early retirement would truly benefit the English Department. If ceilings in Freshman English were set at even the maximum level established by the National Council, there would be no discussion of reduction of staff.
>
> Yours until the law intervenes in two years.

That she often loaned students money, made jobs for them, and became their long term friend is well known. Less well known is her fierce stand on student rights. She hated cruelty and unfairness, and interceded, according to one story, in an early discipline case where a woman student, who had come in late because her escort's car had run out of gas, was being accused of "moral turpitude." (Her escort was not.) Shocked reactions greeted a young male colleague's suggestion that if the committee went through with its proposed action against the woman student he would suggest she sue for defamation of character and he would donate the first one hundred dollars toward expenses. With all her prestige and counting on the real respect she had earned from her colleagues, Smith quietly volunteered to donate the second one hundred dollars. The student was not disciplined.

She always tried to create an atmosphere of intellectual diversity where colleagues could disagree. Among her most rewarding classes were adult study groups in the early sixties where community members shared her high standards of involvement in literature and found themselves developing tastes and aptitudes they had not known they possessed. As Associate Director, Primary Education, she appointed the first male advisor to students. In the fifties, before sex role stereotyping became a conscious issue, she tried to enroll males to train as elementary school teachers.

Smith judiciously slected issues she believed in and then supported them firmly. She didn't just give to United Way; she picked her causes. One of them was the then struggling new day care center. She gave the women's movement invaluable help in its early days. At a time when she was cutting down on meetings, she always went to the newly formed pressure group of faculty women, The Wisconsin Coordinating Council of Women in Higher Education. She and Edith Treuenfels, her friend, housemate, and counterpart in the math department, appeared before the Academic Council and gave the proposed affirmative action plan their verbal and moral support. The first affirmative action officer credits their presence with the relatively smooth acceptance of the plan. Finally, the effect of Smith's encouragement and model for women students and colleagues can't be calculated.

How to sum up Mary Elizabeth Smith[1] I can hear the murmur of her voice in conference with one student after another, remember her progress up a snowy sidewalk, always without galoshes, heavy briefcase in hand. I can look at the deep blue black iris she gave me. I can say that she was all of a piece — she brought beauty, joy, clarity and principle to both private life and profession.

Notes to Chapter 13

1. Information has been gathered from friends and associates and employment records. Mary Elizabeth Smith was born in 1905 and died 7 November 1975.

14. Germaine Brée: A Partial Portrait

by Elaine Marks

Germaine Brée spent thirteen years at the University of Wisconsin Madison as a member of the Institute for Research in the Humanities and Vilas Professor of French. When she accepted the offer to come to Madison in 1960 she was already an internationally recognized critic of French literature, a successful administrator and a beloved teacher. When she left Madison in 1973 she had become one of the best known and most admired figures on the campus. A persistent flow of human beings had moved towards her office in the Old Observatory. Undergraduates had flocked to her classes, often continuing in French only because they wanted to "take Brée." She had directed forty doctoral dissertations, she had participated — as a liberal, not as a radical — in teach ins against the war in Vietnam, over one thousand people attended her talk on "Resistance and Commitment in the works of Camus and Sartre"), she had spoken frequently to community and university groups, she had continued to publish books, articles, textbooks (several in collaboration with her graduate students, she feared neither the imputation of vulgarization nor the inevitable rebellion of young minds), she had risen to the highest positions on national committees, she had received many honorary degrees. Rather than list all her achievements before, during and after her tenure at Wisconsin I would prefer to attempt an explanation of why, as I read many of the signs that accompany Germaine Brée's public and private life, these achievements were possible.

Without venturing into psychoanalytic speculation, it may nevertheless be suggested that Germaine Brée's will to work, that Germaine Brée's charisma in the classroom and the public lecture hall have their source in sexual determinants. But if sexuality informs experience, it never explains quality or uniqueness.

Germaine Brée's stories about Germain Brée provide a privileged point of view on her image of herself which sometimes coincides with and sometimes deviates from the point of view of the outside observer. Her colleagues, students and friends reiterate words which describe a realm where humanist, intellectual, liberal, sceptic, mingle with generous, energetic, enthusiastic, modest, hardworking, warm, charming and occasionally, in a corner of the picture, austere. It is the last adjective, the one that seems to contradict the others, that is the most revealing because it corroborates Germaine Brée's ambiguous but coherent discourse about herself: early to bed and early to rise, sobriety, physical stamina, concentration, independence, privacy, a non believer with a strong sense of a mission, an inside outsider, a loner, an absentminded professor forever misplacing keys, glasses, beginning lectures in English and finishing them in French, boiling the coffee and ruining the pot. What is involved in all of these examples is distance, a distance between the subject and herself, between the subject and others, a refusal to cultivate idiosyncrasy but an ability to cope with it. One of the reasons why Germaine Brée has succeeded so well in America is that she is not from here. She had and continues to have the additional freedom granted the foreigner, the right to be different because she speaks a different language, or rather, in this case,

because she speaks and writes two and with rare bilingual fluency. The fact which dominates the others, which is always present in Germaine Brée's anecdotes and in all published interviews and summary chronologies, is her Franco-British ancestry. I should like to extract from this fact tentative approaches to Germaine Brée's intellectual disposition and to the magnitude of her success as a woman academic in the United States.

What is constant in the writings and lectures of Germaine Brée is her passionate concern with the primacy of human experience and her suspicion that determinist theories and abstract reasoning mystify rather than clarify, that they are in the long run dangerous because they attract fanatical adherents. In her refusal to impose theoretical models on a literary text Germaine Brée reaffirms her penchant towards English empiricism and common sense, her aversion to continental theorizing. She does not share the contemporary French need for a "système où tout se tient,"[1] the total explication of the world as language and text. She does not exclude, in her reading of literature, the amateur's love, the dilettante's delight, the pleasure that can be derived from books. In a period of theoretical dogmatism, Germaine Brée has had the courage to defend eclecticism and pleasure against charges of "impressionism" and "bourgeois culture." There is also a sense in which she might be considered an "existentialist" both before and after the great vogue of French existentialism. (I understand existentialism as a world view and an aesthetic that focuses on individual experience in an indifferent universe, that considers human experience as unexplainable, but emphasizes the individual's freedom of choice — within a given situation — and the individual's responsibility for the consequences of acts committed.)

The existentialist connection accounts, too, I think, for Germaine Brée's critical strategies. In her major books on Proust, Gide, Camus, Sartre and Camus, her central concern is how a writer struggles to order experience, not merely language, in the face of joy and suffering. She never loses sight of the complex dialectic between life and death, and the certainty of the outcome. This perspective on human affairs may have been nurtured by her own nomadic existence — from the south of France to the Channel Islands, to Nîmes, to Paris, to North Africa, to the United States (Bryn Mawr College, New York University, University of Wisconsin, Wake Forest University), by her experiences in the Second World War as an ambulance driver in North Africa and as an intelligence officer with the French army in France, by the death of her youngest sister in childbirth and by her mother's death in 1944.

If I were to simplify what are intricate resemblances and affiliations, I would suggest that, although Germaine Brée's affective attachments are to France, her intellectual affinity is with England and that the mixture contributed significantly to her reception in the United States and to her genuine affection and sympathy for Americans. She was born in the Cévennes mountain region of the south of France on 2 October 1907, the first of six children of her French Protestant mother, the third of eight children of her clergyman father, a British citizen. To be a Protestant in France is to be outside of the main tradition; to belong to a proud, insular minority for whom the sense of past is linked more strongly to moral virtues and memories of religious persecution than to religious beliefs. There is a high percentage of voracious readers and active writers among clergymen's daughters, perhaps because clergymen are such avid readers of the Book and because of the obligation

and the habit of producing a Sunday sermon. When Germaine Brée speaks of her mother she speaks of her with the same attentive love with which she speaks about the France of her early childhood, the France of the German occupation. Mother and France merge into a single entity protecting and needing protection. Germaine Brée's strength and kindness emanate from this ideal merger. When Germaine Brée speaks of her father it is with the tender detachment one might feel for an amusing and troublesome member of the family, distracted, deviant, never quite doing what was expected, never quite behaving in a socially acceptable manner. Germaine Brée's original style of living, her capacity to sit at her desk for hours on end, day after day, with her books, her yellow pads and her endless correspondence, seems an imitation, an emulation, a continuation of Pasteur Brée.

Her first schooling on the islands of Guernsey and Jersey was British. She attended the Jersey Ladies College from the age of nine to fifteen. Thus her first social and intellectual milieu beyond the parsonage and the large family group was also British. She was to find something analagous to this atmosphere years later at Bryn Mawr College where the English models of gracious living, of the "gentleman" and the "scholar" dominated along with a heady dose of English snobbery which she always abhorred. Germaine Brée entered the French school system at the age of sixteen; her knowledge of the English language and of English culture was far more developed than her knowledge of French. It is not surprising therefore, that English literature became, in France, her major field of study, even though, when given the opportunity at the age of twenty-one, of choosing French or British citizenship, she chose French. Again the head and the heart seem to go their separate ways. For four years in North Africa, Germain Brée taught English, was active as an anti-fascist in the nascent *Front Populaire* and indulged in her passion for travel. The Franco-British, work-play synthesis was to come with the American experience lived in America and apprehended earlier through an American writer on whom she had written a dissertation, Henry James. James had moved in the opposite direction across the Atlantic and the Channel but he was deeply enmeshed in the same quandaries about national and cultural identity.

At Bryn Mawr Germaine Brée, who had all her degrees in English literature, was asked to teach courses in contemporary French literature. And so, as she is eager to point out, chance played an important role in the shape of her career; chance and the willingness to accept the challenge. It is highly unlikely that had Germaine Brée remained in France as a *professeur agregee d'anglais*, teaching in the lycee without the demands of a graduate school program and the American insistence on publication, she would have had a career in any way comparable to her American career.

I have had the occasion to meet in France a number of French women who were pupils of Germaine Brée in North Africa. The French lycee in in the 1930s was not coeducational; women taught women. Young women identified passionately with their teachers. These women, now middle aged, could not have been impressed by the writer or the scholar who did not then exist. What they remember vividly is the presence of a teacher whose impact on their lives has never ceased. It would seem as if from the very beginning Germaine Brée belonged to that gallery of women in fiction and in history, and often in the classroom, whose power of seduction is such that for young

women and young men learning and loving combine to produce unforgettable privileged moments, a simultaneous awareness of the possibilities of human and intellectual adventure. I suspect that this is the secret — beyond knowledge and competence — of great women teachers like Germaine Brée.

Notes to Chapter 14

1. Famous dictum by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure: a system in which all parts are interrelated.

1913-14 Forum Debating Club
La Crosse Normal School

PART THREE

THEY CAME TO STAY

15. Women in Industrial Education

by Marcia Harycki

The year was 1909, the month was June. Stout Institute, formerly the Stout Training Schools, was to graduate its sixth class of manual training teachers that summer evening.

Manual training had been a part of the Menomonie community's public school system since the 1890s, when Stout Training Schools had been endowed by Senator Stout to serve the needs of the city's boys and girls. In 1903 the school had been reorganized as a two-year teacher training institute when handwork became more popular in area curriculums, and the demand for instructors had grown.

The manual training program began in kindergarten and continued through the high school, and was the first of its kind in America.[1] It provided

> a broad experience in using a number of materials and tools, and a good acquaintance with fundamental processes of handwork. [The main purpose of manual training was] to furnish a general training of hand and eye, and a wide familiarity with industrial activities.[2]

At the kindergarten and elementary levels, manual training consisted of handwork with clay, paper and cardboard, basketry, and weaving. Children used scissors, made envelopes, wound raffia into baskets, molded clay, constructed cardboard boxes, and in the third and fourth grades also worked with weaving reed baskets and cotton rugs.[3]

> From the fifth grade a differentiation takes place, the boys getting shop work of various kinds through the next eight years, including elementary work in wood and bent iron, carpentry, wood turning, pattern making, molding, forging and machine shop practice, the girls being given work in domestic art and science during the same period, including hand and machine sewing, cutting, fitting, and making of garments, millinery, home decoration and furnishing, design as applied to different phases of household art, cooking, food study, dietetics, home nursing and emergencies, and household management.[4]

Such a division of labor and interest among the sexes being the norm in the early 1900s, it was no wonder that Senator Stout responded the way he did that graduation night when Theodora Coffin received her diploma.

> On that warm June evening in 1909, I being the only girl in the [Manual Training teachers] class, led the men members across the stage to receive our diplomas from the hands of Senator Stout.
>
> Senator Stout had seen and talked to me many times in the workshop, but he evidently didn't recognize me in evening attire. He must have thought I had made a mistake. He fumbled around in the two other baskets and finally selected a kindergarten one [diploma]. I thanked him and then passed it on to the owner.[5]

Theodora Coffin, referred to as "Ted" by her classmates,[6] thus began a teaching career which was to continue for the next thirty-five years. Now aged ninety and living in California, her first teaching position was in Frankfurt, Kentucky, at a state home for the retarded. Eventually she settled on the west coast.

At Stout, Coffin had intended to take only manual training courses, but two of the teachers refused her entrance into their shops. They felt a woman

did not belong around machinery. President Harvey arranged for her to be admitted to two domestic science classes — cooking and sewing — instead! Thus, being a teacher with both domestic science and manual training skills, Coffin was able to offer a combination of the two to her grade school youngsters.

> When she began to teach sewing and manual training in the Goleta School, Miss Coffin recalled, her pupils furnished the room where her classes were held. The boys made the tables, the girls made the hooked rugs, and they worked out all the equipment for the cooking classes and made the pattern for the big cupboard.

Coffin, a pioneer in some areas, followed the trend of the times in others: her boys learned industrial skills, and her girls received domestic training.

Theodora Coffin will always have the distinction of being the only female manual training teacher Stout certified. Thirty years later, when the institute graduated its second woman in the field, "manual training" had become "industrial education." In 1940 when Vivian Elizabeth Bow earned her degree, technology, society, education and Stout had all changed. Demand for industrial education had spread far beyond Senator Stout's community and state; college degrees, not two year diplomas, were now required for certification. Technologically it had become necessary for Stout to expand its course offerings to include work in auto mechanics, aircraft drawing and construction, oxy-acetylene and electric welding, graphic arts, industrial mechanics, and radio.*

Along with Vivian Bow, three other women received degrees in industrial education between 1940 and 1950. One of them, Sister Ildephonse Tekippe, now known as Sister Sarah, currently works as a home care health aide for the city of Eau Claire and as a part-time clerk in student records at Regis High School.* A 1945 graduate, Sister Sarah has had a long and unusual career — but not in industrial education! In 1948 her order, the Sisters of St. Benedict, reorganized. Sister's talents were put to use in the regular classroom, then in school administration, hospital administration, and finally in public health. Many times she was able to use the background she gained as an industrial education graduate.

Recalling her years on Stout's campus, Sister Sarah remembers a small student population composed mostly of females. Class size in industrial education dwindled steadily — in some instances to only three or four students per course — as men left to fight in World War II.

A photograph in the 1945 *Tower Yearbook* shows Sister at work in the drafting room. When she did her student teaching, it was in mechanical drawing at Stout's campus school. Sister Sarah was particularly fond of the drafting courses and was able to use her drawing skills in her regular classroom teaching over the next ten years. Her other favorite courses at Stout included printing, graphic arts, and wood turning. Sister remembers turning a large fruit bowl and a stand to support it.

Sister Sarah felt she had been well accepted in industrial education at Stout. Her degree was a general one, and she could remember no problems with any particular shop course.

Years passed. The nineteen-seventies had begun when Stout graduated the next women in industrial education. It had been more than twenty years since Sister Sarah earned her credentials, and change in all areas has con-

tinued. Stout, now part of the University of Wisconsin System, awards degrees in *both* industrial education and industrial technology through its School of Industry and Technology. From 1970 to 1976, nine women have graduated — four in education and five in technology. Those in technology were able to select from majors that included building construction, electronics, plant engineering, technical sales and service, packaging, product development, and manufacturing engineering. Stout continues to offer the various concentrations and levels within the field of industrial education.

Of the five who have graduated since 1970 in industrial technology, three women chose packaging as their major. As packaging specialists who have developed solid skills in product development, design, and testing, they now function at the middle management level in industry. Technical preparation at Stout included work in related areas of plastics, fluid power, electricity, drafting and graphics as well as the packaging concentration core courses.

Two industrial technology graduates were trained in product development. Kristine Sundling, class of 1976, chose product development because she liked calculus and physics. Her course work at Stout was intense and innovative; the program graduated only eight people in her class. When she began to look for a job, at two interviews she was told straightforwardly that she would not be hired because the company did not believe a woman would be capable of handling the job. Sundling is presently employed as a nuclear steam supply systems engineer and works on the mechanical design of the internal components of nuclear power plants. She writes:

> I find my work very interesting and I don't believe that I could be happier about my job. Working is much better than I expected it to be.
>
> I work with five men most of the time. I have no assigned area as of yet, so I help these five others on their specific areas. I do calculations on weights, natural frequencies, stresses, etc. I review other people's calculations and I write reports.[10]

Her future plans include a Master's degree in Mechanical Engineering.

Four women have earned industrial education degrees since 1970. One of these alumnae, Nancy Mayo taught electronics for a year.[11] When she married, she left teaching and now works as a commercial driving instructor. Mayo recalled that at Stout she worked especially hard in her electronics courses, feeling that in order to prove herself it was necessary to do better than her classmates. One reason Nancy left teaching was because she felt that she was too young at twenty-three to be teaching high school boys. Mayo may return to industrial education after she raises a family.

Another graduate, Kathy Sheetz, also had a short-lived teaching career.[12] She was a part-time high school drafting instructor for one year. Budget cuts ended her employment, and Sheetz is now developing her own business as a free lance graphic artist. Recalling her courses at Stout, Sheetz also expected herself to have better than average technical competency in the classroom.

Looking back over Stout's long but sporadic history of women in industrial education and industrial technology programs, it can be seen that while some things have changed over the years, others have not. The confusion which occurred at Theodora Coffin's graduation in 1909 still exists for women choosing technology-related careers in the seventies. Just as Senator Stout wondered if perhaps she had mistakenly arrived on the right stage with the wrong peers, so do fellow classmates today often question women who

enter technical laboratories on UW-Stout's campus and ask if they are not, perhaps, mistakenly entering the wrong room!

And just as Coffin altered her teaching to accommodate to the then current economic and social needs of her male and female students by teaching her girls sewing and her boys woodworking, so today's graduates find that they must deal with a society which still places specific economic and social expectations upon its female members.

Yet the trend toward increased participation by women in industrial education and industrial technology is not likely to reverse. There are more women now enrolled in UW-Stout's School of Industry and Technology than the total number of women who graduated in the past seventy years. And it is also likely that these women will have a profound effect upon their professions, and the changes they bring about will be as great as the changes that have occurred since the early days of the Stout Training Schools seventy years ago.

Notes to Chapter 15

1. Bulletin of the Stout Institute, 1944-1945 Catalog, History, pp. 11-12.
2. Stout Institute Circular of Information and Course of Study, 1909-1910, p. 3.
3. Stout Institute Bulletin, December 1909, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 13.
4. Bulletin of the Stout Training Schools, Vol. II, No. 3, November 1909.
   Lines of Development of Industrial Education in Menomonie, Wisconsin, p. 28.
5. Letter from Theodora Coffin to the chancellor of Stout Institute, 14 October 1976.
6. Stout Institute Yearbook, 1909.
7. News-Press, Santa Barbara, California, Sunday, 3 October 1976.
   "Miss Theodora Coffin, Manual Arts Teacher."
8. The Stout Institute Bulletins, 1940-41, 1944-45, 1950-52.
9. Personal interview, Regis High School, Eau Claire, Wisconsin, 6 January 1977.
10. Letter from Kristine Sundling, 27 December 1976.
11. Telephone interview, 9 January 1977.
12. Telephone interview, 9 January 1977.

16. Women at the Extension Center in Milwaukee

by Elisabeth Holmes

Women played a more considerable part in the development of the UW Extension Center in Milwaukee than would be expected in what was, both historically and throughout its forty-nine years of existence as a separate unit of the university, predominantly a man's school.[1] In the early period, from 1892 until 1920, the university had run extension classes in the evening, primarily in response to requests from the community and taught by professors who commuted from Madison, either on the staff of the Extension Division or from departments on the Madison campus. Most of the courses were in commerce or engineering. In 1920 a Day School was opened for veterans of World War I in which both non credit and two years of credit classes were offered. In that year the first woman, Professor Adolphine Bianca Ernst, commuted from Madison to teach German.

In 1923, when the Regents opened two years of credit classes to high school graduates, they opened the doors to women students. Their numbers, however, grew slowly. Through the years, the proportion of men to women averaged from ten to one down to four to one, a situation which was reversed only during the years of World War II when women outnumbered men six to one in the Day School. A much larger number of both credit and non credit classes were offered in the evening, the total of which always exceeded that in the Day School. This gave many women a chance to accumulate college credits or to give them training which would advance them in their careers.

To the women students the Extension, with its low cost and flexible programming, was probably an even greater boon than to the men. Those who came from immigrant families had to fight a culture that did not include the higher education of women. It was assumed that daughters got a job as soon as the law allowed them to leave school at sixteen and their wages belonged to the family until they were twenty one. It caused little comment when the father of one of the secretaries arrived on her payday to pocket his due. Lucky was the girl who was required to pay no more than room and board. Girls who had jobs which would barely support them left home to eke out tuition for a few college credits and to avoid the prevailing contempt for time wasted in "just reading." Professor Albert Kruse, coming as late as 1939, was surprised at the family opposition encountered by his women students.

One brilliant girl tells her story: I finished my two year secretarial course at North Division High School when I was fifteen and a half. One of my teachers and Principal Krug tried to intercede for me with my father — no luck. I was hired (illegally) by a harness factory for fourteen dollars a week, minus three dollars for the day I had to attend the Vocational School until I was eighteen. For two years I took algebra and geometry by correspondence. Until I was twenty one, when I could at last take the high school equivalency exam, I took night courses at the Extension, some of which counted as high school units. When I passed the exam, I could become a day student and was hired for the typing pool at fifty dollars a month for one hundred hours' work.

Better jobs during the summer paid my tuition, books, and zoology lab fees. At the end of two years, I had to take a year off to earn enough so that I dared to go to Madison where I got a job in the botany department, this time one hundred hours a month for $62.50. My most vivid memories are of chronic fatigue, the oatmeal which was nourishing, and the pig liver at five cents a pound." Alice Voelker married Robert L. Kroc, brought up a family, did considerable free lance writing, and is now involved, with her husband and brother in law, in the work of The Kroc Foundation dedicated to medical research at Santa Ynez, California.[8]

Typical of the ambitious night school student who took no credit courses was a woman who ultimately achieved the highest secretarial position with the Milwaukee school board, assistant to the secretary-business manager. She writes: "As I took on more challenging responsibilities, I needed to brush up in a number of subject areas. I took courses in English grammar, public relations, office management, and personnel management. One course, Vocabulary Building, helped me immeasurably in handling office correspondence and in later years in writing the Milwaukee School Board Proceedings and reports of the various committees."[9]

One distinct type of evening student, usually a woman, was the perennial auditor, adults not interested in college credits but in pursuing objectives which amounted to a liberal education or to some form of specialization. The wife of a Milwaukee physician made a career as an auditor; in eighteen years she audited a total of thirty-seven courses. An even more persistent woman had a record spanning thirty-one years. She took every French course ever offered and, when she had exhausted new ones, she repeated those she had already taken.

One wartime program was organized solely for women students. At the request of the army, a non-credit sequence was developed to train radio electronic technicians who were badly needed. The students went on into civil service positions with the Fairfield Air Service Command at Patterson Field, Ohio. Many women also were drawn into a Civilian Pilot Training program aimed to meet the severe shortage of civilian pilots and ground school teachers recognized by the Civil Aeronautics Authority. These women received their private pilot certificates.

Organized social life for women students was limited and spotty. The honorary sorority of Sigma Epsilon Sigma was open to women with an average of 2.5 or above on a three-point scale. There were only two social sororities, Phi Delta Delta and Tri Omega. Women were active, however, in organizing dances, working on the school paper, and putting on plays.

If the university-oriented social life of the students was spotty, so was that of the faculty. It was limited because the school was situated downtown and the faculty lived all over the metropolitan area. The faculty wives and women assumed the burden of developing a social and service organization. The founder, Mrs. William J. Fuller, invited the other women, in 1929, to form a club, variously called The Women's League and, ultimately, The UWM League. The roster of presidents proves that, while the wives of the full-time faculty predominated, women on the staff, both academic and secretarial, and the wives of part-time instructors in the Night School were almost equally active. In fact the Women's League parties provided the only congenial meeting ground on which the full-time faculty could get to know the evening staff.

Service to the university was one of the immediate objectives of the League. The members began to accumulate a scholarship fund and a loan fund intended to relieve a student's temporary need but also to relieve the drain on the sympathetic registrar, Irene Langwill. Enlarging their sphere of service, the League began to have monthly sewing bees to make children's garments for the American Friends Service Committee. Later, when a cafeteria was at last available, there were annual suppers given for the husbands and the male faculty.

Until after World War II the Milwaukee Center had only three strictly administrative positions, one of which was held successively by two unusually competent women. As registrars, Irene Langwill and Irene Bozak performed far more than the usual duties of that office. Langwill came to Milwaukee in 1920 after a short period with the Extension Division in Madison when it numbered six people housed in Bascom Hall — "Main Hall" in those days. She was probably remembered by more students than any other member of the staff. In the column "Who's Who on the Faculty," she was dubbed "a regular guy" who had been "the means of inspiring many a potential scholar and of dragging up many a drooping spirit. From the size of her mail bag, it appears that all of the old grads correspond with her."

Irene Bozak, who became Langwill's assistant, went on leave during World War II to become a hospital worker with the Red Cross. Her return, by good fortune, coincided with Langwill's retirement in 1946. Faced with the zooming enrollment of veterans, Bozak introduced the IBM system to facilitate and mechanize much of the paper work; however she never let her office lose its personal touch with the students.

These two women provided the best possible public relations with the community as well as with the high schools. Their approach to inquiring students and parents, whether by mail or in person, was friendly and specifically helpful.

Other colorful personalities in the non teaching staff were Elsa Jaeck, the librarian, and Josephine Ganoni, the nurse. Jaeck was such a grim fighter in the cause of building the periodical and reference collection that she annually incurred the wrath of the administration for overspending her budget. "Joe" Ganoni was the darling of the athletes, almost as important to them as the coach.

Three women were chairs of their departments: Ruth I. Walker in botany, Eunice Bonow in pharmacy, and Elisabeth Holmes in English.

Dr. Ruth I. Walker chaired her department from the time when she became the first resident botanist in 1930 until the formation of University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in 1956. She was an excellent researcher, publishing many papers and presenting many reports at the American Association for the Advancement of Science and similar meetings, always on cytology. She was an equally dedicated teacher. She spent hours with her students in individual discussion of their work and was primarily interested in the women in her classes, encouraging them to continue in higher education. She made the best of her crowded quarters in the old Extension building and achieved wonders with the tiny greenhouse on the roof. She was the only woman to attain a full professorship at the Extension. A greater honor, perhaps, in the days before the women's movement, was the assumption of equality with her male col-

leagues implicit in having the details of her career recorded in *American Men of Science*.

For the last fourteen years of the Extension, Dr. Eunice Bonow gave the first two years of courses in pharmacy with only part-time help in laboratory sections. By the end of the first decade 150 graduates who had started in Milwaukee had entered the profession. Bonow came to the Milwaukee department with ten year's experience in retail and manufacturing pharmacy. She has been active and held offices in local, state, and international professional organizations, is the author of *She Is a Pharmacist*, written for high school students, and has been successful in encouraging women to enter this field in which they are needed and find ready employment. Her energy and broad interests have ranged from writing professional articles to staging the comic opera, *The Apothecary* by Hadyn.

Elisabeth Holmes was chair of the Department of English for the final thirteen years of the Extension Center. Two periods represented challenges, particularly in recruiting qualified staff. During World War II, when women formed a faculty cadre, she was put in charge of all the college-level correspondence courses in English offered by the United States Armed Forces Institute. Eighteen women were trained to correct the lessons, write morale-building letters, and return the papers within the prescribed three days. Fortunately many of these women were available as instructors when almost three thousand veterans flooded the Extension by the end of 1947. The English staff jumped from nine to thirty-five with freshman classes being held in eight locations.

Several departments depended heavily on women for staff. Until a year or so before merger with the Wisconsin State College in Milwaukee, only women taught journalism with part-time help from a reporter on the *Milwaukee Journal*. And the foreign languages, especially Spanish and French, were taught primarily by women. With only one exception, Professor Meta Steinfort headed a feminine Spanish department. In French and German, women constituted the junior staff. After World War II the Spanish department was augmented by six women, the French by four, and the German by only one. German was not popular with the GI's.

From these signs of expansion, it is obvious that the Extension was so flexible, with its fourteen hours of day and evening classes, that it was able to rise to the needs of the returning veterans far more than any other Milwaukee college or university. To trained women, largely from the metropolitan area, should go the credit for their impressive share in the hard but exciting work of teaching the GI's. To give two examples beyond those cited: in zoology seven women were added, several of whom stayed on, and in chemistry thirteen were added.

Although the faculty shrank as the veterans completed their two or three years at the Extension, a goodly number of those appointed from 1944 to 1947 remained to become members of the UW-Milwaukee staff, many of them making distinguished contributions. Among them are Dr. Dorothy J. Ernst who carried the whole load of the Department of History until the men on military leave were demobilized; Dr. Nancy O. Lurie in anthropology who was to become an adjunct professor and Curator of Anthropology at the Milwaukee Public Museum; in English, Mildred Freeman, Mary Louise Bell, Marian Culver, Marian Stewart Reilly, and Kathryn Whitford who became a

chair of the Department of English; Genevieve Meyer and Helen Kittsley who became assistants to the Dean of the College of Letters and Science; and Katherine G. Nelson in geography but later to pursue her major interest, geology. Some, of course, moved on to other universities or completed their interrupted graduate work.

Beyond the usual membership and activity in the learned societies of the various disciplines, faculty women, true to the Extension ideal, thought in terms of contributions to the community. For example, from the beginning of the Department of Pharmacy, Dr. Bonow considered her laboratory and library as sources of information to local pharmacists and industrial concerns. More important, however, was her contribution in the continuing education of the pharmacists in the area. As one who had kept up to date on the changes in the field, she met the constant demand for speeches to keep her colleagues abreast of professional developments. Elisabeth Holmes of the English department was elected to the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, was a trustee of the Milwaukee Public Library and the Public Museum, was a member of the Milwaukee Art Commission, and President of the Milwaukee Public School Teachers Annuity and Retirement Board.

Women were also active participants in the local and state labor movement. As members of Local 253 of the American Federation of Teachers, Gracia Torinus, Mary Babcock, and Elisabeth Holmes were, at various times, delegates to the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, and for many years the latter was on the Education Committee of the State Federation of Labor. This involvement was not without self interest since the labor lobby had much to do with persuading the Legislature to support the development of the Milwaukee Center, a move which had not always been encouraged by the university administration in Madison.

When the center was merged in 1956 with the Wisconsin State College in Milwaukee, almost all of those on the staff at that time continued in the new institution, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. By 1976 seven of the Extension women had become full professors: Ruth I. Aldrich, Eunice Bonow Bardell, Dorothy J. Ernst, Elisabeth Holmes, Nancy O. Lurie, Katherine G. Nelson, and Kathryn Whitford.

The ubiquitous question arises: was there discrimination against the distaff members of the faculty? True there were two or three who felt that promotion was slower than it should be or that a man was put in an administrative position that should rightly have gone to a woman, but the question of women's salaries was never brought up by any group. The faculty were so busy making studies of the demonstrable discrimination against the Extension staff as compared with the various ranks on the Madison campus that the problem of sex was never broached. Now that it has been, Dr. Joseph G. Baier, Emeritus Professor of Zoology wrote, "Wisconsin had a goodly share of outstanding women, especially during the earlier years when, by comparison, other universities were doing poorly in the non-discriminating sense." Then, harking back to his graduate days, he recalled, "There were several excellent women in the Medical School, in Botany and in Zoology whom I knew very well."

Faculty women at Milwaukee enjoyed an unusual spirit of democracy. There was a minimum of emphasis on rank, instructors having always voted in faculty meetings. Teaching conditions, as far as the students were con-

cerned, were ideal. Since the institution had no prestige beyond its reputation for high standards, it attracted no students who could afford to go elsewhere; hence there were only those who had ambition. Where the always inadequate physical facilities were concerned, conditions required the same kind of adaptability that was characteristic of the whole staff. Women had the satisfaction of helping to meet the frequent crises and at all ranks were encouraged to offer new courses wherever there was a demand. In short, the women were part of an organic faculty.

In the student body, the women tended to be even more earnest than the men. They were consciously fighting the ethnic cultures of European countries in which women's place was in the fields and in the home, the idea of sisters competing with brothers being abhorrent to their families. As they fought their individual battles with poverty and prejudice, they brought to the classroom an ambition that made teaching them a delight. Quite unconsciously they anticipated the women's liberation movement.

Notes to Chapter 16

1. Since the author of this essay has just published a history of the UW Extension Center, much of the material, of necessity, covers the same ground and is, in parts, taken from *The Urban Mission Anticipated* (1976).

2. Alice V. Kroc's brother in law, Ray A. Kroc, is president and her husband is vice president of the foundation dedicated to research on basic sciences relating to human diseases, particularly arthritis, diabetes, and multiple sclerosis.

3. Esther Ihlenfeld's title gives no impression of the multiplicity of her duties. She attended committee meetings which frequently lasted until 1:00 A.M., occasionally until 3:30. The next morning she would be writing up the discussions and actions of the committee to be sent to board members. This routine was repeated after board meetings. There was no time clock punching nor over time pay. She hired and supervised the secretaries, handled the bills in her capacity as office manager as well as all routine correspondence. In her words, she "did what the job called for." In her retirement she is still doing the onerous work of indexing the board proceedings since no one qualified has yet been found.

Laura Sutherland
Eau Claire Normal School

PART FOUR

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

17. Educated Daughters and Sisters: Three Graduates Comment

by Agate and Harry Krouse

What was it like to *be* an undergraduate woman in the University of Wisconsin at the turn of the twentieth century? What happened to these pioneering students? We decided to visit three early graduates from Madison and Whitewater, now in their eighties, and find out. Claudine Johnson Teige, Ruth Engebretsen Dorr, and Marie Benson undertook formal education beyond the high school level when their classmates, both male and female, seldom did. All graduated before women even had the symbolic equality of the vote.

Several elements recur in their reminiscences. Intelligent, enlightened families, especially mothers and sisters, were important in their decision to continue school. Also, all three made a choice between career and marriage. Even in their extended families of intelligent women, we did not find a single one who married, had a family, *and* continued a productive career. They do not regret their decisions, but it is clear they believed a choice had to be made. Having a family *and* a career, as many women are doing today in spite of that often being twice as demanding, was not a realistic possibility.

Various details about student life emerge as well. Although families paid the expenses of most students, some women did work their way through school. One way this could be done was to write for a third-grade teaching certificate, teach in the country under extremely demanding conditions, and then gradually progress to a second and first-grade certificate. Admission to the State Normal Schools followed.

Although there were some unconventional women in their families, the three alumnae themselves are quite traditional. They did not join the fight for women's rights, and they did not rebel against expectations for women. They have lived useful lives within the limits placed on women. Although they are strongly in favor of education for women, they are on the whole unaware that women students might have had special difficulties.

These women regard their student days with affection and believe the education they received has been invaluable throughout their lives. All three are intelligent, interesting, and alert; the institutions which trained those lively minds can be proud of these women. They are also proof that exuberance and vitality are by no means the exclusive domain of the young.

We visit Claudine Johnson Teige in Stoughton, Wisconsin. She is the youngest of a family of ten children, seven daughters of whom reached adulthood in spite of diptheria, which carried off the others. She is the last survivor of this family of seven sisters, four of whom either attended or graduated from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Her oldest sister Amanda received her degree in 1893, while Claudine herself graduated from the School of Music in 1914. Thus the relationships of this family of young women with the university spanned more than twenty years.

Claudine welcomes us into the spacious, immaculately kept large house, which she shares with her invalid husband. It has been the family home since

1905, and it is easy to imagine it filled once with the seven spirited sisters. They returned to it for visits throughout their lives, and one of them was nursed there by Claudine in the years before her death.

Claudine's last years have not been easy: the deaths of all her sisters, in the face of the deep affection she reveals for all of them, the actual nursing of Nora, and now the illness of her invalid husband, who is in the next room close to his oxygen tank. But throughout our visit she is cheerful and attentive, both to him and to us. She says she has had a good life, though she is sad that "they've all gone now and left only me." She has the mind and body of a woman much younger than eighty-five. Her recollections of her sisters, orderly and clear, could be the basis of a novel. Some of them could have been characters in *Ragtime*, she says, a book she has just read and liked. Their life stories suggest the possibilities and limits in the lives of women in earlier eras: achievement and romance, duty and pleasure, unconventional behavior and respectability mingle as Claudine recalls their lives.

Amanda, the oldest, graduated from the university in 1893. She was a brilliant student, interested in classics and Sanskrit, setting academic records. "They asked her to join Phi Beta Kappa twenty years after she graduated." Claudine shows us her key and regrets she knows little about Amanda's life as a student. She herself was only two when her oldest sister graduated, so that Amanda's reactions to being a woman student are lost. It is clear, however, that Amanda excelled academically.

Claudine recalls that Amanda was "dynamic and sociable." She had a life-long interest in social causes, including women's rights. She did social service in Pittsburgh, worked with Jane Addams at Hull House, had breakfast frequently with Clarence Darrow, and worked for several newspapers. Because she was very beautiful and perhaps because even her name means that she must be loved, cartoons about her in the Chicago papers often took the form of valentines. "She'd be shown riding in a rubber-tired buggy to inspect the ward, while men on their knees pleaded, 'Won't you be my valentine?' " She knew "all sorts of intellectuals," Claudine laughs.

"Amanda was very modern, she was more like some women today. She did what she wanted to do." Her independence was evident in several ways. "Her apartment in 1900 was so unusual that it was in *House Beautiful*. She had all inlaid mahogany bare floors with oriental rugs, lovely pictures, and many books. It was so simple but so elegant compared to the way other people were living." She was also the only woman who would get off the bus in Stoughton wearing red stockings or smoking cigarettes. "We were just frantic to see she didn't smile in public. But she was strictly modern. She never married, but she had lots of boyfriends."

Although Amanda's red stockings and cigarettes caused the family some worries, Claudine gives no indication that any family member disapproved of her ideas or work. Claudine, in fact, is very proud of her sister: of her Phi Beta Kappa key, of her being "a highbrow," of knowing "all kinds of interesting people," of "promoting advanced ideas about women and everything else," of the prominent obituaries when she died in 1949.

Amanda's courage, of course, extended well beyond her personally unconventional life. As resident of Hull House, she was at least once prominently embroiled in controversy for opposing an influential man, Johnny Powers, "the Democratic political king of Chicago."[1] As part of their struggle

for better living conditions in the Nineteenth Ward, the women at Hull House took action themselves when they found that garbage contractors were neglecting the filthy street while drawing their pay. Amanda Johnson became garbage inspector under the civil service rules and continued the work of Jane Addams, who had preceded her in the position. The streets were cleaned up, "and the contractors were squirming and complaining."[2]

Powers, however, was not easily defeated. He "appeared before the Civil Service Commission and demanded the discharge of Miss Johnson as garbage inspector, on the grounds that she had been finding fault with his record as an Alderman and advising the people of the ward to vote against him.... The newspapers, one and all, declared against Powers, and the Commission found Miss Johnson entirely innocent of any electioneering, and after commending her work requested her to remain in office." Eventually Powers found another way to get rid of Amanda by the merger of two fiscal agencies, which suggests she must have been doing a good job indeed. "In this way Miss Johnson was deprived of her position, and her place left to a Bohemian saloon-keeper... who was not even a civil service eligible — although he was a good friend of Powers."[3]

Amanda — intellectual and social activist — was followed by the beautiful and talented Nora. "Nora made a hit when she was at the university. She was on the debating team and she helped organize a drama society. She graduated around 1900."

After attending the university, Nora had a love affair. "You know, in those days, it wasn't like it is now. A man who had been a doctor in Alaska used to send her big diamond brooches and furs, but she sent them all back. She was kind of smart. Well, one day she picked up the paper and he was married to some gal out in Washington and she felt just terrible. And so then because she wasn't going to have this man any more, she asked Father if she could study drama. He said yes, and she went to New York and got a job with a regular company. There was no radio, no television, nothing except these companies which would tour all over the United States. She was a leading lady for twelve years. She came home every summer because they didn't tour then. She finally married a very wealthy man."

After disappointment in love, an independent life as an actress, and a marriage delayed by a career, Nora had an idyllic life, according to Claudine. She gave up the stage and lived luxuriously in a four-story brownstone with a garden, six blocks from the Empire State Building. "Every afternoon at four they would get ready — tickets for the opera, the ballet, the theater, the balls — every day, every week. She was used to living well."

Nora's independence, nourished by her education and her career, stood her in good stead when her husband died. "She was a widow for twenty-nine years, but she did very well. She travelled, she kept her house, she didn't let everything go as so many other women do when their husbands die. She was ninety-seven when she died. Just as agile and smart, reading all the magazines and newspapers. She said, 'You know, Claudine, when the next election comes I'll be a hundred.' But then she got the flu."

The next three sisters have no connections with the university. Hulda studied music with a pupil of Franz List. "She was a brilliant pianist and gave concerts." Like Nora, she married late and then gave up her career. The next

two sisters broke with the family tradition of educated, accomplished women by marrying young. "They both had big beautiful weddings."

So did Katherine, Claudine's closest contemporary, who graduated from the university in 1912. Subsequently she married a prominent chemist and was deeply interested in his research and his graduate students. "No, she didn't have a career. But she was never very strong like the rest of us. She died in 1939, the first one." She was survived by the dynamic eldest Amanda by ten years.

The older sisters had lived, at least for a time, single independent lives. They had achieved some prominence because of their talents, and they had married later or not at all. The others had opted for early marriage. All of them retained close ties and a sense of duty to their family. After the death of their mother, the seven sisters took time away from their own lives to see that the household functioned smoothly and that each sister had a chance to go away to the university if she wished.

Aspects of the lives of her sisters are echoed in Claudine herself. She received a SMG (School of Music Graduate) degree from the university in 1914 and returned to Stoughton to teach. "I was the only music teacher here and I had to go twice a week to all the grades, twice to the high school, and twice to the junior high, and I had a fall concert and a spring concert and a musical comedy in February." Her education, in retrospect, was not the most practical. "I learned a lot about music, but most of it was stuff you never use when you're teaching. They didn't give us materials or show us what to do in the classroom. So I just did what I thought of doing myself. I made up my own materials and figured out how to teach." Claudine's reliance on her own resources is reminiscent of Amanda, who in other ways "did just what she wanted to do."

But in spite of practical gaps in her education, Claudine loved being a student. "Oh, I wept bitterly when I had to leave. I had so much fun — lots of dances and boyfriends." She recalls fondly a blue satin dress with a heavy swirling fringe around her ankles. Her father paid her tuition and she had charge accounts at Manchesters and other stores. "I could go where I wanted and buy what I pleased. There was never any comment about whether I bought a suit or a hat — we wore hats, you know. Father always paid. When I think of that now, wasn't that something?"

No one drank, women did not smoke, and their reputations had to be guarded. "If there was any really crazy stuff going on, the gossip about the girl would be just terrible. You just didn't want to be that girl." But that does not mean that some rules could not be circumvented rather than broken. Claudine, for instance, did not resent having to be home at a certain time. "Well, they'd leave the window open for me if I was late."

Discussions of women's suffrage did not affect her. "I don't think there was any, at least not that I was aware of. Amanda would have known about that. There was a woman who was a labor organizer. She would sing and she would hand out pamphlets. One evening she had us all come to a get-together and she gave us cannibal sandwiches."

While Claudine's school days suggest an easy frivolity, they were not really quite so simple. She stresses the good time she had outside of classes and plays down her academic endeavours, but she clearly worked hard as a

student. The example of her older sisters influenced her deeply to do well in her courses.

Their example was also important to Claudine teaching for four years after graduation. Marriage and motherhood were not the most important immediate goals. "You see, my sisters had never been that way. Amanda and Nora just kept overcoming obstacles. They gave me the feeling that *instead* of getting married I should have a career." Yet there was not much financial encouragement to be a teacher forever. Her father had seen to it that his daughters lacked nothing while they were students. "But when I taught school here in Stoughton I got no money really — almost nothing." She married in 1918, gave up teaching, and helped her husband in the oil business. She has kept up her interest in music informally through activities in her church.

Claudine ascribes the productive lives of all the sisters to her parents' influence. "Mother was a great entertainer, parties and dinners. But she also came from a brilliantly intellectual family. She was a direct descendant of Johan Nordahl Brun, the Norwegian Bishop, poet, and statesman. Most of the culture in our family came from my mother. Her family also had shown a lot of courage coming to a new country and doing well here. Mother spoiled her oldest daughters. She had a lot of Norwegian girls doing the housework, so my sisters all had plenty of time to read and play the piano. She died when I was little, but I know she stressed the importance of education."

Claudine's father, an exceptionally intelligent and well to do farmer, had many advanced ideas about health and education. "When nobody else here did that, we had every kind of fruit, every kind of vegetable, we always had fresh cream and milk, every kind of cheese, and fine fresh meat. He built a great ice house with a room just for cooling food for the family."

Both parents encouraged the daughters to continue their education. "We were the only ones from our high school who went on to the university, except for one boy. My father was always very interested in our schooling." That he had daughters instead of sons "never made any difference. And that was true of Mother as well."

Claudine thinks that education for women is important since it enriches and helps in every area of their lives. She worries that "sometimes it doesn't seem to take." Most important, women should not let the educational opportunities they have gained go to waste. "They should not let the whole thing that's been built up just drop. I think that would be cruel."

It is unlikely that they will. "We have six grandchildren. All girls but one." Another family of accomplished sisters is probably on its way right now.

Ruth Engebretsen Dorr achieved an education without having the example of accomplished sisters. In fact, her commitment to education is unusual in the context of her immediate contemporaries. Having finished grade school and high school in Whitewater, she enrolled in the three-year commercial course at the Whitewater State Normal School. After receiving her diploma in 1916, she taught for a year in Hayward, and then attended the university in Madison until 1919. "I have three older brothers, and they went through high school. They were all businessmen and they did very well. But they didn't seem to want to go on to school. I was the only one who wanted to." Nor did

her female classmates provide an inspiration. "Not many of them went on to college. I don't think any of my class did. The boys did, but not the girls."

Her parents were an important influence, however. "My mother had a country school education, but she educated herself afterwards right along with Dad. She was a charter member of the Alpha Club, the second oldest literary club in Whitewater. She always wanted to be accurate, even about spelling a word. She loved books. She was a very strong person." Within some limits, Ruth's father was sympathetic to women being educated. As a young man, he had helped put his older sister, who graduated from Whitewater Normal in 1878, through school. One of the most influential and public spirited men in Whitewater, he was the first city treasurer and the second mayor. "It was through his efforts that Whitewater had the Waterworks here so early. They were responsible for saving the university from the fire of 1891."

"My parents really wanted me to finish school. When I was twenty, they were afraid I might get married and not graduate." But there were limits. "I wanted to go to Milwaukee Downer, but they wouldn't part with me. My older brothers had already left home, and in those days not many girls went away to school. Dad was also a little selfish that way. The commercial course had been started here at Whitewater, and since I had to stay home it was fortunate I happened to like it." Ruth was able to persuade her father to allow her to continue at the university. "Dad knew I would be living with a group of girls at the Alpha Omicron Pi house, so that was all right."

Ruth does not think that any important distinctions were made between male and female students at either school. They all had to study hard. The women had special rules about behavior, of course. "When I was in Madison, we had a housemother in my sorority, Mrs. Langley. We had to be in by 10:00 P.M. There wasn't any five minutes after — five minutes before, if anything. We even had rules about dress. There was a beautiful girl in our house whose parents had been missionaries. She had lived in a lot of far away places, and then she came to Madison and she didn't have any money. Once she was so low on stockings she put on a pair of green ones and went to class. Oh boy, did she get reprimanded."

Social life at the sorority house in Madison was lively. "We had lots of parties but not liquor. I don't think anybody smoked. I never did. It just wasn't done." Political issues or women's rights were not discussed. "But, you know, that was during the war. The girls thought mostly about studying and boyfriends. We knitted socks and wristlets for the fellows in the army. We were patriotic. I belonged to the swimming team, other girls were on the track team. But mostly we were busy studying."

A major difference between Whitewater and Madison was in the number of women. "I had many good women teachers at Whitewater, but none in Madison. I remember hearing about women faculty members in the home economics department, but that was it." Madison also had more male than female students, while the opposite had been the case in Whitewater.

Ruth's recollections are supported by the enrollment figures and old State Normal School bulletins in the archives at UW-Whitewater. From its very inception — as in the Normal Department at Madison — Whitewater Normal had a tradition of women educating women, which is not surprising since the students were being prepared to teach. Until 1954, the majority of students at Whitewater was female, and so, often, was the faculty.

Ruth Dorr could easily have become one of the faculty members at Whitewater Normal and seen many of the changes in the lives of women students and faculty from the inside. After attending the university at Madison until 1919, she taught commercial subjects at Wittenburg and Chippewa Falls. She was invited to join the Whitewater faculty about the time she was to marry John Dorr. "My Dad wouldn't listen to me about teaching at the Normal School. He said, 'If you're going to get married, you better stay home and keep house.' " And so there was a beautiful wedding in October, 1923, of "one of the most popular couples in Whitewater," as the local paper reported. Flowers, food, and gowns were prepared by the bride's mother, who thought nothing of arranging a wedding for sixty-five sit-down guests in the parental home and seeing to the comfort of dozens of out-of-town guests.

But Ruth's story does not quite end there, though "they lived happily ever after" is certainly applicable to the Dorrs' marriage. They are exceptionally close, affectionate, and proud of each other. Ruth did stay home and kept house, a stately Victorian residence, probably the most impressive old home in Whitewater, which has been singled out for features in newspapers. The elegant elaborate Christmas decorations alone make it a delight. The Dorrs' mutual devotion has also left plenty of room for responsibilities to others: they cared for their aged parents and took active part in community activities.

Ruth did not simply throw herself into a round of social activities with little intellectual content. Much of her energy has gone into the Emerson Club (the oldest club in Whitewater, whose meetings were originally devoted to literary topics but now consist of discussions of economic, historic, and social issues) and the Whitewater Historical Society. She chaired the committee which produced the invaluable historical publication, *The History of Whitewater 1837-1962*. She gathered materials and wrote most of the text herself for this volume celebrating the 125th anniversary of the city.

She has shared her expertise in other ways. In 1952, she published an article in *Hobbies: The Magazine for Collectors* about her Dickens collection, which includes early editions, engravings, figurines, busts, and china. Until a few years ago, she spoke about Whitewater history, her extensive collection of old dolls, and Dickens to groups throughout the state. Her interest in history and her persistence are evident in getting the Whitewater Territorial Oak marked in 1962: "It only took me twenty years to get everyone to agree." She has collected and preserved historical records of Whitewater: clippings, pictures, minutes, letters, her own explanations from memory and the reminiscences of others. The seven immense scrapbooks, each devoted to a separate topic, are valuable, clearly organized primary historical materials for future researchers. Ruth herself is also a repository of facts and sources.

Ruth Engebretsen Dorr, intelligent and still very beautiful, has not tried to combine a career and marriage. She has followed her father's advice and chosen the latter. But she does not feel bitter about the choice, and since her interests are primarily historical and literary, a career of teaching commercial subjects would perhaps not have been that satisfying. These interests have made a larger world part of her daily life. In addition, she has made Whitewater and its surrounding area truly her own by learning, collecting, and actively preserving its past. Her work in the community and her supportive in-

terest in UW-Whitewater have been recognized by the Distinguished Alumni Service Award from UW-Whitewater in 1969.

Ruth regards herself as privileged. She did not have any financial hardships while going to school; in fact, she did not know any students in Madison who were working their way through the university. She and her husband have had comfortable lives. "I've had everything. I've had more than I should have. I never had to be deprived of anything."

Does she think education is important for women? "Absolutely. It's something that can't be taken away from you. Once you get it, it's something that you forever enjoy. I think it's just as important for women to be educated as for men — if not more so. Because if anything happens when you're married and you have a family, you have to go out and earn. And women need an education to earn."

For Ruth Dorr, education at Whitewater and Madison has provided a solid basis for enjoyment, self-discipline, and service to the community. Among her most attractive qualities is her ability to see the need for education for women less financially comfortable and less lucky than she considers herself. "My husband and I are so proud of what you and other young women have accomplished," she says as we leave. "We know it isn't easy, but it's certainly worth it to persist."

Professor Marie Benson, now retired after fifty years of teaching, most of them at Whitewater, completed the three-year commercial course at Whitewater Normal School in 1918. Tall and vigorous, she tells us that she has just come in from shovelling her walk and her neighbor's. "I'm lucky that my health is good. I've always been rather athletic. I had to be because I had two brothers older than myself. They roped me into everything, and I had to fight for myself. I used to ski a great deal. I walked two miles from grade school morning and night unless it was exceptionally bad weather. We used to ski at the noon hour, and of course we didn't have marvellous warm weather-proof outfits like today. We had long stockings. But we did not stay inside along the furnace — we'd all be outside sliding and tobogganning and skiing. I guess we were kind of hardy people." Marie also did a lot of hard work on the farm: planting corn, haying, and harvesting. "Stacking the grain was especially heavy work for a woman."

She began her teaching career prior to attending Whitewater Normal under circumstances that would intimidate many a potential teacher. By going to summer school at Reedsburg, she received a third-grade certificate which qualified her to teach in a country school; the next summer she attended summer school at La Crosse for a second-grade certificate. "After that I taught in Mauston. I now wonder how the kids learned anything. I had twenty-two classes a day, and the longest period was twenty minutes. It kept me from watching the clock, the time went so fast. I had two little folks five years old. I don't know how I kept them busy, but I did, and they didn't get into my hair. There was also a boy who was an eighth grader. The rest of them were in between. I lived two miles from school, so I walked on skis during the winter." The pay was forty dollars for the first year, forty-five dollars for the next.

Upon completing the three-year commercial course at Whitewater Normal in 1918, she taught at Lodi High School for four years. Her salary increased

each year: $90, $105, $135, $185. The last sum was significant. "It was the first time in my life I received equal pay with men."

Such equality was short lived, however. She joined the Whitewater faculty in 1922. After President Hyer visited her high school class, he invited her to return to her alma mater to teach. Her starting salary was $1,200; when she retired in 1962, it was $12,000. "Women were below men in salary all the time except for the few heads of departments. In the School of Business, the men steered clear of the skill subjects because they were taught by women. But bookkeeping and department chairmanships went to men. I think women today are only getting what they've deserved for a long time. Now there are some women on the hill [UW-Whitewater] who are in the upper brackets of the salary schedule and who are in administration. I'm happy every time I see that. I know we could have had women much better than some of the male administrators we've had in the past."

Marie has had a busy life: the summers when she did not have to teach (Whitewater faculty were required to teach two summers out of three until the last decade), she attended summer sessions at various universities, received her M.A. from Northwestern, served as Visiting Professor, travelled to Europe and the Holy Land. She has been active in professional organizations. She has also published papers, textbooks, and standardized tests to improve the teaching of shorthand. She has been recognized by the Distinguished Alumni Award, and Benson Hall is named in her honor.

She attributes her continued striving for education to her mother. "I don't think Mother herself had any schooling as we think of it today. She came from Norway when she was eight years old. She was an avid reader and she learned from listening to conversation. But she was very, very keen to see us go to school. We lived on a farm about six and one-half miles from the high school, and she it was who saw that we got there. She made sure that my brother had a load of wood all ready on Saturday, so that we could start out early on Monday. I often rode to high school on a load of wood to be sold, and I got there on time too. More often Mother herself would take us on Sunday afternoons with the horse and cutter, so that we would be ready for school on Monday morning. We paid for room and we had the privilege of boarding ourselves. We took our food along for the week. Mother saw to that as well. God bless her memory."

"Now my father was different. He had high principles, he helped settle disputes between neighbors, he was highly respected among the members of the Town Board and in the whole community. He and Mother always had an open hand for any worthy venture that came along, and they were never too busy to help neighbors in need. Father was such a good man, and I know that he loved all his children. However, it was hard for him to realize that women should have an opportunity to go to school. He felt that a woman's place was in the home, that girls got married, so they didn't need much education. It was all right for the sons to be educated. But at least he never opposed my sister and me going, and we never held his opinions against him. Finally when I got ninety dollars for teaching at Lodi High School, he changed his mind. He hadn't thought a woman could earn so much."

It is ironic that two of the Benson daughters rather than the two oldest sons received an education. "My brothers did not go to high school. They became good farmers instead. My sister Signe and I were the first girls from our

part of the district to graduate from high school." Both of them went on to advanced degrees, life long teaching, and independent lives as single women. Both still participate significantly in intellectual and community endeavors.

The oldest sister, however, provides a poignant contrast to the two educated sisters who fulfilled their mother's hopes. Because Bergit was delicate, the family doctor advised that a high school education might cost her life. "It's tragic, just tragic that she wasn't educated. She was a brilliant woman, but she has always been frustrated. She married and had a son, but she was always sorry that she wasn't earning or travelling like my older sister and I did. Of course, we had had good health, and we had paid our own way to an education by teaching. After that we earned and had our own money. We've tried to be generous to Bergit, and we helped her son through college. But that's just giving material things. Not getting an education scarred her whole life, and no one can erase a thing like that. My mother used to say that if she had only known how Bergit's life would turn out, she would have sent her to school anyway, in spite of the risk."

Marie's student days at Whitewater Normal were happy. "I don't think there was any infringement on our rights as women at all. It seemed to me that there was always great pride in what the girls were doing. I can't feel that women weren't equally treated here, though I know that was the case in some other schools. If there was any unfairness, maybe it made us work a little harder to do a good job. When I came back here to teach there were more women on the faculty. Our faculty meetings used to get pretty hot sometimes. It was Mrs. Wheeler who stood on her feet and told the men what was right. And they would listen to her because she was an outstanding woman. So was Miss Potter. Still, when a job opening came up, there was a preference for men. But as a student I was treated every bit as well as the men were. I never thought men were superior, and we got along just fine. There wasn't any snobbery or belittling of women students."

"We were also fortunate in how kind the people of the city were to us. We lived in private homes. We had double beds, and we had to share them with our roommates. There were no dormitories, but there were a few societies. The YWCA was especially active and departments had social events. Sororities didn't really start to develop until I came back here to teach. It was all very nice."

Some aspects of contemporary life trouble Marie Benson. "I think the man should be the wage earner. Just because he's a man. His status as a man comes from being the breadwinner. That's been that way long before any of us were born. Sometimes it's impossible for the man to be head of the house because of illness or death. Or a woman might not marry at all. I do feel very strongly that mothers should stay home with their children, at least for the first year. I know there are situations where a brilliant woman marries and goes right on working. That really is a matter for the two of them to decide, though I think it's tragic to leave one's children for someone else to raise."

The necessity to make a choice between career and motherhood is strong in Marie Benson's thinking. One of the most serious discussions between the two educated sisters and the disappointed Bergit took place when Signe asked, "Would you give up your wonderful son for what we have?" Bergit admitted she would not part with him. Having both — a career and children — was not a third option. The extended working hours, the proportionately

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small pay, the summers spent working on degrees were necessary for Marie herself in order to have a career. Men sympathetic to married women working were probably few, if Ruth Dorr's and Marie Benson's fathers — both intelligent and respected — are any indication.

"I think that we have in all probability lost a lot of good people in the mothers who had no opportunity to continue what they wanted to do outside the home. My mother, for instance, could have climbed to the top intellectually and professionally herself. Instead, she injected a wonderful spirit in us children. She herself could have been a poet. Sometimes at night when she couldn't sleep, she would work out a poem in her head. In the morning she would write it out. And very good poems they were too. Mother was brilliant and *she* was responsible for her children's success. She spurred us on."

Although Marie is uneasy that women working today may be taking jobs away from men and that the women's liberation movement is demanding too much in too short a time, she sympathizes with young women. "They have so many temptations and so many choices." But she is also happy for them. "Many women have more opportunities. That should have happened years ago because women's brains are just as good as men's. I feel that justice is beginning to come to us at last."

18. Voices From Three Generations of Women at Eau Claire: 1916-1970

by Ellen Last

Women at Eau Claire have constituted roughly three generations. The normal school and teachers' college faculty was heavily dominated by women through the twenties and thirties. A transitional group, much smaller in number, carried through the World War II period and into the sixties. The recent group of faculty and academic staff women represents once again an increase in numbers and in influence.

These three generations have been distinctly identifiable on Eau Claire's campus, and women have had a strong voice in shaping this university in its sixty-one year history. A brief look at the lives, attitudes, and contributions of selected representatives, who have been taped and thus speak for themselves, from each generation may serve to pay tribute to the accomplishments of all and, perhaps, to reveal something about how our institution has grown.[1]

The Early Years

> The faculty were supposed to attend the school functions, and the faculty and the students worked together. You see, we were quite a young faculty — some of us weren't that much older than the students, and so it was easy to take part in the social affairs. In those early years there was no dean of women, and so the women teachers had to fill in. The parties had to be chaperoned, and there were clubs, organizations, and the faculty members would go with the students on camping trips on weekends. . . . Those all school functions remain as pleasant memories, because the student body and the training [laboratory] school. . . , the whole school cooperated. . . . Really, the esprit de corps was very high at the time because it was faculty and students and training school too. Then later on, as the school got bigger, each department had its own program, and instead of cooperation there was frequently quite a bit of rivalry between departments, and that ended the all school affairs. But those all school affairs produced a good feeling — one for all and all for one — that I missed later on when the school became larger.[2]

The world of the normal school was largely a woman's world. The original faculty at Eau Claire Normal School, appointed in 1916, contained fifteen women and six men; the first student body consisted of 141 women and eighteen men. The fact that most rural school teachers were women accounts for the latter statistic. The dominance of women on the faculty has a similar explanation: normal school faculties were drawn largely from the ranks of public school teachers, a field dominated by women. In addition, few men interested in careers in higher education would have found a normal school faculty position desirable.

In looking back on the special group of women who taught at Eau Claire in the early years, many people first remember Laura Sutherland. It was Laura Sutherland who suggested the motto of "Excellence" for the university during its Golden Jubilee, and excellence was her standard in many areas of activity in her thirty-eight years service to the school. As a faculty member, she taught history with distinction, and in the administrative area she served as dean of women and organizer of the N.Y.A. Program for financial aids. In addition, she worked to found honorary societies, student government, and

the chapter of American Association of University Women and was active in countless community and professional organizations.

But the quality most often noted by those who knew Laura Sutherland was her giftedness as a teacher. In the words of Chancellor Leonard Haas,

> Laura Sutherland was one of the most amazing teachers that I have ever worked with, either as a student or a colleague. . . . Outstanding among her characteristics was her ability as a lecturer. When she came into the classroom, day after day, she was so completely prepared that she never carried a note with her. . . . All of history was a story to be told with the greatest accuracy, but without losing any of its interest. She held her classes spellbound year after year and . . . was recognized as certainly one of the most outstanding teachers that Wisconsin has produced.

Her excellence in the classroom grew from Laura Sutherland's own philosophy. A long time colleague and friend, Delia Anderson, quotes her: "Teaching is the nicest possible work. Teaching history is a crusade. It must present the long view, reporting both mistakes and successes. History is full of meaning and must be 'lived' with facts serving only as tools."[1]

Another outstanding member of the history department was Vine Miller, a versatile and active woman who served as the first dean of women and public relations person. She is especially remembered for her warmth and sense of humor. Her sister Barbara, noting that "Vine always had a yarn" to tell, remembers the story of her interview with President Schofield at Chicago's Palmer House in 1925, when she was asked to remove her hat. The president of Eau Claire's Normal School was not hiring any women with bobbed hair!

Of the countless women who served effectively in the early education program it is possible to list only a few. Hazel Ramharter, as an elementary supervisor and, later, head of the elementary education program, did much to establish Eau Claire's fine reputation for elementary teacher training. A similar contribution in secondary education was made by Katherine Thomas, who served as a supervisor of secondary education teachers and eventually as principal of the laboratory school. Katherine Ryan, a member of the original faculty, served as assistant to C. F. Brewer, the head of the teacher training program. Colleagues Hilda Belle Oxby and Laura Sutherland recognized in Ryan "a spark of genius for teacher training" despite her lack of advanced degrees, and Oxby points out that, because Ryan was responsible for sending out hundreds of "darn good grade teachers," her contribution to the western Wisconsin area was immense. Vine Miller's sister Barbara remembers that Fanny Hunn drove her car "in good weather and bad weather" over country roads to contact graduates of the rural department. The teachers and supervisors of the laboratory school are too numerous to mention, but these women too were responsible for the solid establishment of the teacher training programs at Eau Claire.

The staff of the library, like that of the laboratory school, was dominated by women. Erna Buchholz, an early graduate, served the library for over forty years, many of them as head librarian with an all-female staff. Jo Schneider, former librarian, recalls that members of the faculty on salary for the summer were often assigned to the library. This increase in numbers did not always result in an increase in efficiency, although characteristic goodwill prevailed.

Hilda Belle Oxby notes that in the early years there were "more excellent women teachers than men," and she emphasizes her philosophy, shared by

Laura Sutherland, that the best instruction should be in the junior college, and that an effective teacher must have the interests of the students at heart. She still believes that teachers who are also active in scholarly and community pursuits are an important influence on students. "Your example counts for more than what you do in the classroom.... You inspired good students to work to capacity."[3]

Leonard Haas too recalls the extremely high academic standards of women like Oxby, Sutherland, and Ramharter, teachers who "expected the best out of everybody," and who held to a "standard that was...in many cases...much higher than the general standards that are maintained today." He recalls that Laura Sutherland tested her students weekly, and that the attrition rate in Hilda Oxby's freshman composition class was legendary.

The excellence of these women was recognized by the administration, who paid them and appointed them to various positions based on their abilities and on broad educational background rather than on the basis of degrees held. During most of the years from 1916 until Oxby's retirement in 1953, she, Katherine Thomas, and Laura Sutherland received salaries comparable to those of the first (male) faculty members with Ph.D. degrees, because their training and experience were judged equivalent to the Ph.D. She feels personally that no discrimination existed against her or women like her regarding salaries, treatment, or professional expectations. She is quick to point out that she never felt the sting of discrimination because "I never *felt* inferior.... I had just as much to offer as any of those Ph.D.'s."[4]

This pride and independence of spirit were hallmarks of the early faculty, and were qualities passed on to the future teachers with whom these women had contact. Directly or indirectly, their personalities and values touched a generation or more of people in the broad area surrounding Eau Claire. Of their contribution to the school itself, Chancellor Haas comments that they were "completely committed and devoted to higher education and to the students. The whole life of these people revolved about their responsibilities here. And it was on this foundation that the greatness of this school was built."

Years of Transition

> A woman I remember with warmth is Vine Miller, who had been dean of women at one time. When I first met Vine Miller I was felt to be a threat. In fact, Vine told me once, "All of you people coming in — I don't know — I don't know about the future of Eau Claire." And I said, "Well, you know, we are also interested in students."
>
> "Well, will you ever have any feeling for the college?"
>
> "Yes, we do."
>
> And I finally became quite close to Vine, and I liked her very much. (Dr. Helen Sampson)

This encounter between members of the first and second generations of faculty took place at about the time Dr. Helen Sampson came to the school in 1955. Renamed Wisconsin State College Eau Claire in 1951, the school had changed slowly but steadily through the years. As early as 1927, President Schofield emphasized that the change from normal school to state teachers' college would "radically change the school's purpose." By 1932 the student body had numbered 672, almost double in only five years, and for the first time this number included almost as many men as women. The major mission of the institution from 1927 until 1951 remained that of preparing teachers,

but on a four-year professional degree basis. In addition, the controversial "college course" had continued to grow, providing pre-professional education for many students. By 1941, when President Schofield retired, ten informally constituted subject departments were offering 189 separate courses.[7] The college catalogue pointed out that Eau Claire was still "a school which emphasizes the practical rather than theory."[8]

The changes were also reflected in the faculty. The push for accreditation had been a constant source of pressure, building in intensity through the thirties and forties. A few holders of the doctorate had been hired in the thirties. Nevertheless, this was an area singled out for criticism in the report by the North Central Association examiners who finally approved Eau Claire for accreditation in 1950:

> There appears to have been a commendable effort to secure teachers with desirable public school experience, but in former years sufficient attention has not been given to adequate training. As a result, very few of the faculty hold the doctor's degree. Attempts are now being made to improve this situation by employing persons with the doctorate for replacements and new positions and encouraging present staff members to pursue additional graduate work.[9]

To some extent, the emphasis on the doctorate caused doubts and caution on the part of the established faculty. Eugene McPhee remembers that the faculty of the thirties "were sure the only reason the new people had earned the doctorate was that they couldn't hold a job and had to keep returning to school."[10] In addition, like Vine Miller, many of the earlier faculty members, loyal to the school and devoted to its students, doubted whether this spirit would be maintained by new colleagues assumed to have more interest in narrow scholarly pursuits. As the mission of the institution broadened and changed, the nature of the faculty necessarily changed as well.

The field of elementary education remained a stronghold for women faculty, and those early women who distinguished themselves in academic and administrative areas continued as important forces through the forties and into the fifties. But the postwar years had found women returning to their homes rather than going to graduate schools, and fewer women were available to serve the changing needs of the school. The academic biography of Helen Sampson reveals certain forces which were at work upon the careers of female scholar-teachers in those transitional times.

Graduating from college in Iowa during the depression, she found high school teaching jobs as rare as jobs elsewhere. Eventually she found a position teaching high school English and began carrying out a professional plan typical in those days: a few years of high school teaching, followed by graduate school and a job in a small college. The plan was disrupted by the outbreak of World War II. Like so many other women, Sampson served the war effort, first by teaching in army programs and then by joining the Women's Army Corps. Unlike most American women, she did not return to homemaking after the war. Instead, she proceeded to graduate school, where her advisor told her she would certainly not need a Ph.D. unless she planned on heading a department. She persisted, however, and became one of the very few female students studying on the doctoral level at the State University of Iowa; she estimates that men outnumbered women ten to one.

Leaving the university, Sampson began the search for her dream position — teaching English in a small liberal arts college. After much frustration, her

job-hunting led her to a well-known teacher placement agency in Chicago. There she was told that these schools wanted candidates who were young and male. The interviewer told her frankly that many administrators viewed women as troublemakers and would not consider them for jobs.

Sampson was hired as the first Ph.D. in the English department of the State Teachers College at Kearney, Nebraska, a school in the same transition toward accreditation and academic legitimacy that caused growing pains at Eau Claire. Leaving the warm and positive world of graduate school, she found her experience at Kearney to be "a dreadful shock."

> It can be very hard for a woman not to have a Ph.D., and it can be very hard for a woman to *have* a Ph.D. I encountered a very sharp envy, hostility, an attempt to see that I never got an interesting course. I was the only Ph.D. in the English department of about a dozen people. I wound up with almost entirely freshman composition, and my standards were different. The process of maturation from the normal school to the university has been everywhere a necessary process, but quite a painful one.

When Sampson came to Eau Claire State College in 1955, the pressures of transition were also present here. But in many ways the process was less painful here, largely because of the wisdom and humanity of key members of the administration and the faculty. A system of faculty rank instituted by the legislature the previous year had become the source of a number of problems. President Davies had been shocked at the insistence of some faculty that rank be observed rigidly in the commencement procession. The new system did not totally recognize the value of long years of service to the institution under a different academic value system. Certain faculty lacking the Ph.D. — Laura Sutherland and Inez Sparks — had been made full professors, but Ruth Johnson, a younger woman who chaired the English department, had not. Davies was concerned that the Ph.D. newcomers not aggravate the situation by flaunting their degrees.

Another administrator credited by Sampson with handling the problems of change in the fifties was Ruth Johnson, the popular head of the English department. Although ineligible for a full professorship because she lacked a doctorate, Ruth Johnson recruited and integrated Ph.D.'s into a department which Sampson remembers as being closely knit despite growing numbers. Sampson feels that she was treated fairly by the department and the school, with equitable salary and promotions.

Regarding numbers of men and women on the faculty in the fifties, Sampson remarks that "in those days we weren't conscious of how many women there were or how many men there were." She recalls, however, that there were "a larger proportion of women, and a larger proportion of women at higher ranks, because the normal schools had been staffed largely out of high schools." Some members of the early faculty had retired, but a few remained: Sutherland impressed Sampson as a "conscientious, gifted, strong-minded, strong willed leader"; Miller, despite her early misgivings about the "new people," was impressive in her personal warmth and her dedication to students; Inez Sparks, "an elegant lady," continued a career that had included service as a supervising teacher and as instructor and head of the psychology department.

Marylou Baker Patterson, a woman active as a student on the campus in the late forties and early fifties, remembers the same small group of outstanding women and adds memories of others: Sutherland was a "mar-

velous,...captivating" lecturer; Grace Walsh was the forensics coach who had "put our college on the map" by producing top-quality debaters and public speakers year after year. Despite vivid impressions made by these outstanding faculty women, Patterson recalls that the majority of faculty members by that time were men, except for the staff of the campus school.

Another woman who impressed Marylou Patterson and everyone else who came into contact with her was Dean Stella Pedersen, in whom Patterson recognized a

> marvelous quality of understanding people — laughing, sharing — I admired her so much. She wasn't afraid to dress up and look foolish if the occasion called for it. She wasn't afraid the students wouldn't respect her as a result of it. She respected the students as individuals and was always there to compliment them when they were successful and to give them help when they needed it. She did so much for the entire student body.

This concern for "the entire student body" was evident from the time "Dean Pete" joined the staff in 1948: minutes of the Student Personnel committee indicate that she suggested that the deans of men and women might better be called "deans of students." Given the task of building enrollment for the college, she traveled extensively, meeting with high school students and their parents, in auditoriums and in their homes. She prided herself on knowing the freshmen before they arrived on campus, and many remember her conducting the three-day freshman orientation session.[11]

Another area of concern for Pedersen was in modernizing the counseling services, and in 1949 she presented a plan for the next three-year period that called for full-time counselors, additional clerical help, offices for counseling, and centralized student files.[12]

As an administrator, Pedersen showed tremendous foresight in her concepts of student personnel work and counseling. As a human being, she maintained the feeljng among students that there *was* someone they could turn to, someone who cared about them. Unfortunately, as the school grew, this feeling, abundant in the early years, was difficult to maintain. Perhaps Pedersen's greatest contribution to the life of the college was the warmth of her personal contact.

The change in relations between the faculty and administration and the students became more pronounced as the fifties progressed, and for the teachers sensitive to these relationships, the change was a difficult one. Sampson recalls the closeness that existed "in the beginning...and it wasn't phony. It was real. We really did help them get jobs. In the fall, after they'd been teaching for a short time, they all came back. And we were interested to see how they got along." Gradually, Sampson feels, the faculty had to come to terms with the fact that the student body was much larger and that to some degree they would have to become more impersonal "in order to survive." Still, "as the family idea began to disappear, there was a period here when we didn't really have anything. We had all the disadvantages of the small and the large at the same time."

The University Emerges

The small school whose faculty and administration functioned so simply for so many years has grown and evolved — becoming, in 1964, the Wisconsin State University Eau Claire and, in 1971, the University of Wisconsin-Eau

Claire. The school which sixty-one years ago housed 22 faculty and 184 students in one building now accommodates nearly 700 faculty and over 10,000 students on a campus containing twenty-six major buildings and housing five schools.

Exploding enrollments in the sixties caused the university to grow at unprecedented speed. Counter forces in the seventies are calling for the brakes to be applied, just at a time when the forces of social change — pressures on behalf of greater opportunities for women and minorities — are pushing for further growth and change. These pressures cause thoughtful people on the campus to long for the spirit of closeness and cooperation that once characterized the life on this campus. As Chancellor Leonard Haas says:

> It represents a bit of nostalgia, I suppose, in part, but I wish that we might recreate the kind of community spirit that existed a generation ago. Part of the problem of trying to reinstitute it is our size — you can do things with five hundred that you can't do with five thousand, or are still less able to do with twenty-five thousand. But there have been some things in the academic world aside from the growth of the institution that have tended to break down some of this fine community of learning experience and I think this more than anything troubles me. We have become a product of our current technology and civilization which has necessitated so much paper work, so many adversarial relationships, so much litigation that we often lose sight of the primary purpose of a community of scholars coming together.

Perhaps one of the most dramatic changes has been in the attitude of women on the campus. Helen Sampson, whose career bridges the years of the early faculty and the contemporary faculty, notes interesting changes in women on campus. By the fifties, she found that "the only women on the defensive" were in the campus school, for they could foresee its approaching demise. This attitude is ironic, in view of the fact that the laboratory school or campus school had traditionally been a stronghold for women on the campus. In contrast, Sampson found that the women in other fields "were not defensive; in fact, they were regarded as some of the most high-powered people on the faculty, and were treated with respect and occasionally a little fear. They had a sense of self that didn't come out of any movement.... In contemporary terms, some of these early women were not as formally educated as the Ph.D. that you might hire now, but they had qualities, most of them, of total dedication." Comparing today's woman faculty member with her early counterparts, Sampson feels that today's woman has a sense of self that is "more complex, arrived at with more difficulty, and more valuable. In that time, too much depended on one's individual toughness, and if things went their way, fine, and if things didn't,...that wasn't so good." Today's sense of self, Sampson continues, "includes more. As long as we got jobs, that was all we'd hope for."

Many outstanding women in this generation continue the tradition of "Excellence." In publications, Jaunita Sorenson has become a leader in promoting individually guided education; Mary Rowe has published a series of science books in the elementary education field; Gretchen Grimm has done the same in art education; Esther Arata and Carol Fairbanks have published books in the areas of black literature and women's studies. Grace Walsh, professor of speech and coach of successful public speakers, has established a reputation as one of the outstanding forensic coaches in America. Her former student Joan Reidy was elected mayor of Tallahassee, Florida, in 1972. Marie

Evans, director of the University Children's Center, was recently elected president of the Eau Claire City Council. The Eau Claire music department includes concert artists of national reputation, including pianist Penelope Hendel. In the administration, Chancellor Haas describes papers by affirmative action officer Sarah Harder as "landmark papers, really, because of the skill with which they are written." Hilda Carter's record of journalistic excellence culminated in co-authorship of the history of the university published before her retirement in 1977.

These women have established reputations in areas where relatively few women have made achievements. In looking at the women functioning in more traditional roles, we find individuals who moved far beyond the usual definitions of these roles. Since 1930 Gerry Wing has served as secretary to all three administrative heads of the school, and in that role has contributed substantially to the remarkable continuity of the administration. Dorellen Haas, wife of the chancellor, has made substantial contributions to community life, including fund raising for the library and working for the establishment of the Chippewa Valley Forum. Her genuine interest in the social and cultural life of the university is marked by a memory for people which has helped students, faculty, and community members retain that sense of personal identity rooted in the school's tradition.

Excellence is, of course, a compilation of individual talents and individual standards, and certainly men as well as women have contributed to excellence in all areas. Identifying women's contribution to excellence is difficult, but if there is a unique contribution that women have made in the past, it must certainly be the foundation laid by the total dedication of some of the early women. Over the years, Helen Sampson feels, women "may have done more in seeing students as total individuals rather than seeing them as having to play sex roles. Some of the most distinguished men teachers still don't want to consider that. It has nothing to do with their teaching. If excellence is more than just scoring high on the Graduate Record Exam — and I think it is; it's the whole person — then I think women have made a tremendous contribution here — more than probably we realize."

A contribution which is unique to the current group of women is their concern for instituting the changes that will make equality a reality on the campus. Both the school and the society it serves have changed dramatically over the years. Neither can elude the challenge of continuing change. Loss of a former sense of community among faculty, administration, and students has been noted with regret by those bridging the university's history. Perhaps today's struggles for equality will result in a renewed sense of unity, based not on the common values and singleness of purpose of the past, but on the diverse values and complex vision of the future.

Notes to Chapter 18

1. Information attributed to designated individuals is taken from tape recorded interviews unless otherwise noted, as follows:
   From University Archives: Mrs. W. R. Davies, 10 January 1974; Lyla Flagler, 23 June 1973; Dean Stella Pedersen, 27 February 1975.
   From University Media Development Center: Hilda Belle Oxby/Erna Buchholz, 6 September 1974; Hilda Belle Oxby, 7 October 1974.
   By Ellen Last: Dean Valena Burke, 19 April 1977; Carol Fairbanks, 22 April 1977; Chancellor Leonard Haas, 20 April 1977; Sarah Harder, 21 April 1977; Barbara Miller, 18 April 1977; Dr. Nadine St. Louis, 21 June 1977; Dr. Helen Sampson, 14 April 1977; Josephine Schneider, 20 April 1977.
2. Hilda Belle Oxby, personal interview (not recorded), Syverson Home, Eau Claire, WI, 22 February 1977.
3. Delia Anderson, "Laura Edith Sutherland," *Reflections* (Eau Claire, 1976) n.p.
4. Oxby interview.
5. Ibid.
6. Carter, p. 20.
7. Ibid., p. 21.
8. Ibid., p. 28.
9. Ibid., p. 62.
10. Ibid., p. 28.
11. Ibid., p. 59.
12. Ibid., p. 60.

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19. In Their Own Words: Excerpts From Oral History Interviews

by Laura L. Smail and Donna S. Taylor

The Oral History Project was set up in 1972 as a part of the University of Wisconsin Madison Archives. The intention of its founders was to facilitate the recording of the memories of retired professors, but its scope has now broadened to include interviews with anyone who can shed light on events and developments within the university. Of the over one hundred interviews to date, twenty have been with women. From these we have selected six: four members of the faculty, one faculty wife, and one departmental secretary. These women give us glimpses of themselves — their childhood, their lives as undergraduates, their work and their thoughts about their work. The material has been lightly edited. The six women are:

Ruth Glassow: Born 1891 in Schofield, Wisconsin. B.A., University of Wisconsin, 1916. Taught physical education in several universities. Joined the Department of Physical Education at the University of Wisconsin in 1930. Appointed full professor 1948. Retired 1962.

Theckla Nemitz: Born in 1900 in Reedsburg, Wisconsin. B.A., University of Wisconsin, 1924. Taught high school. Became secretary of the German department in 1930. Retired 1965.

Dorothy Kraj Knaplund: Born 1905 in Evanston, Illinois. B.A., University of Wisconsin, 1926. Married Paul Knaplund, professor of history at UW, 1929. He retired in 1955, and died in 1965). Two children.

Madeleine Doran: Born 1905 in Salt Lake City. B.A., Stanford University, 1927. M.A., University of Iowa, 1928. Ph.D., Stanford University, 1930. Joined the UW Department of English in 1935. Full professor 1952. Appointed Ruth C. Wallerstein Professor of English Literature 1967. Made permanent member Institute for Research in the Humanities, 1970. Retired 1975.

Ruth Henderson: Born 1890 in Green Bay, Wisconsin. B.S. 1923 and M.A. 1928, Columbia University. On UW Extension Division staff in 1918. Became member of Department of Home Economics and School of Education in 1923. Full professor 1952. Retired 1956.

Elizabeth Brandeis: Born 1896 in Boston, Massachusetts. B.A., Radcliffe College, 1918; M.A. 1924 and Ph.D. 1928, University of Wisconsin. Joined UW Department of Economics in 1924. Lecturer with rank of full professor 1962. Married, one child. Retired 1966.

Family Background — Undergraduate Education

Ruth Glassow

I was born in Schofield, Wisconsin, which is almost a part of Wausau. In my childhood it was a sawmill town. There was a millpond which was about a block from my house where we could boat and we could run across the logs, which was a dangerous thing to do. At night when I got in bed I'd think about it and think I'll *never* do that again, but then the next day — next time I got down to the water — you couldn't resist it.... It was a wonderful childhood. When I finished high school, which was in 1909, I don't know of any girl from Schofield who had gone to college except my sister who had gone to River Falls Normal School.... The usual thing was if you weren't married, or

didn't plan to marry in the close future, you taught school, so when I finished high school I taught rural school. I had no preparation for it. (So when you finished high school, you weren't expecting to go to the university?) No. I don't know what prompted me to do it. I guess maybe since my sister had been going to college...that may have had some influence on me.... I had been encouraged to write by my teachers. And so I decided to come down to the university and major in journalism.

...We had at the university at that time one of the first deans of women. That was a new position for women — dean of women.... We had one of the first and she was an outstanding, capable woman. She also taught history.... She was Mrs. Matthews at that time — Lois Kimball Matthews... later she married Judge Rosenberry.... This woman did many things to promote the progress and welfare of women on campus. Because this young girl from Montana held so many offices the dean of women worked out a point system. If you were president of an organization you had so many points, and so on...and she ruled that no woman was to have more than a stated number of points. What she was doing was spreading around the honors. One of the things which she did was to have the women of each class have an organization. That started I think when I was a freshman. We were called Green Button — the freshmen — Red Gauntlet for the sophomores, Yellow Tassel for juniors, and Blue Dragon for seniors. I remember when we came back to our fifth reunion we marched down State Street...and I think we had a banner saying, "We started Green Button, Red Gauntlet, and so forth"...and I could laugh about it even then because it was not the students who started that; it was really the dean of women. But a good leader can make the followers think that they did it. This was an example of the ability of Mrs. Matthews — this point system, and then getting these organizations.... Women students were fortunate in that there were three outstanding [faculty] women.... There was Mrs. Matthews, and then the head of home economics [Abby Marlatt], and Miss Trilling. Those three women were outstanding people in their various fields.... Mrs. Matthews was considered probably the outstanding dean of women in the country at that time.

Two women — the dean of home economics and the dean of women [Abby Marlatt and Lois Matthews] — they started a cooperative rooming house for girls.... They wanted to set some kind of standard which would make it look as if it were a privilege to live in that house so they chose the first residents — they didn't ask for applications — and they chose people who held office, who were known on campus, and I was one of those. You see I'd been editor of the woman's page of the *Cardinal*, and then I was president of the Women's Athletic Association.... Many of my friends were sorority girls.... And I think that occasionally some of my friends thought that because I held positions on campus I might be an addition to their group.... But I never investigated the financial part. I always thought I couldn't afford it. Here I was with my two burner kerosene stove and this sort of thing and I thought of them as people who had more financial outlay than I was making. (Did you mind?) Oh, no. I was having a wonderful time.... You see I had never really been with people my own age.... And here all of a sudden all of this! And because of having been out and having taught school I think possibly I was more accustomed to take initiative about some things than I had been and — oh, it was a wonderful, just a wonderful experience!

Thekla Nimmow

We lived in this little Germanic town and you lived as you lived in Germany more or less.... I was not supposed to be talking. Unless I was spoken to, I didn't. Unless I was at school I did most of the inside chore work. I loved school because it was a way of getting out of chores.... That's why school was important. It was a way out. And it got to be a way out all the rest of my life.... We had two years of high school in our little town. And I wasn't very good. I knew that. But I was good in comparison to my compatriots. I had a 98 point something average. We didn't have newspapers, we had no library. But as I said, school was an escape and I enjoyed it. I enjoyed reading. I would read books to get sensations. I read *Heidi* in order to smell toasted cheese.... I ran away from home, got a job working with the Weaver family — helping with the housework.[1] Mrs. Weaver knew that I was petrified, just plain petrified. I simply wouldn't speak. I wouldn't eat in the dining room. I got my first week's wages and went round and round the square without the courage to go in to buy myself a comb which I did not have.... Mrs. Weaver was wonderful. Her husband thought I was retarded. You couldn't blame him. [Mrs. Weaver offered to have Thekla stay while she finished high school in Madison. Thekla was pulled in two directions — her mother needed her.]... and then I made up my mind that this was my choice. I'll tell you what I was really running away from. I didn't want to get married at sixteen or seventeen and have babies — that's what was happening — or there were illegitimate children. It was an escape.... Mrs. Weaver told me later...I was sitting in the kitchen...she asked me then would I like to be going to school and she said I said not a word but she saw the look on my face and said, "The girl has got to have a chance."

...Mrs. Weaver urged me to take one year [at the university]. I did two jobs all the time — worked for Mrs. Weaver and, before I had secretarial training, worked — as a "hello girl," as they used to say — at the telephone office to earn some money. Well, I had one year and then my family decided it was high time that I did something for them.... So I took a whole year out in which I worked...for room and board with Mrs. Weaver and worked in the accounting office at the UW...and managed at seventy-five dollars a month to give my mother two hundred dollars and paid the coal bill, taxes, and my mother's first winter coat...two hundred dollars I put in the bank for myself, to go to school the next year.... That two hundred dollars lasted for the next three years.... I graduated with a major in botany and a minor in English. I couldn't afford to go on for advanced degrees. By that time the family really needed me, you see. I majored in botany because I liked science. And it was the cheapest one.... I couldn't afford chemistry because... chemistry alone was forty-five dollars, botany was ten dollars. I would have preferred English or German but everybody did that.... At the time I went to school, you know, they'd say, "You don't *have* to go to school because there are plenty of jobs." So you didn't have scholarships. I could have had a fellowship in my senior year but they told me I must pay it back, and far as I was concerned that was a debt.

Dorthy King Knaplund

I came from the north shore of Chicago, one of the suburbs. I went to New Trier High School and was interested in academic work. My parents

wanted me to go to an eastern college. I didn't want to. Then there was Northwestern — that was too conservative for me. So I wanted to come to Wisconsin — they thought this was a great mistake — it was a communist school. Now this was back in 1921 when I was seventeen years old. Why should I go to such a wild place? You know the north shore of Chicago, it's very conservative.... My father was a businessman. I finally prevailed and came here.... (You were a rebel, then?) Not a rebel, no. I was very interested in getting a good education and I knew that Wisconsin had an outstanding mathematics department, which was my chief interest.

I was fortunate in my freshman year. I had five courses — French from a rather mediocre person who shall not be named, mathematics from E. B. Van Vleck, and then the second semester I had Arnold Dresden who was also a great mathematician; I had Michael Rostovtzeff for ancient history, who Trevor-Roper said was the greatest ancient historian of this century; I had William Ellery Leonard for English. And I wanted a course — another course in history...[the advisor asked] would I consider taking a course for commerce students in English history which Professor Paul Knaplund was giving, and that came in the afternoon. I said it didn't matter to me, so I was scheduled for Professor Knaplund's course....

I did a great deal on committees and was eventually a Phi Kappa Phi... and...Phi Beta Kappa. I then decided to move from mathematics...I changed my major several times. I was going into sociology courses my sophomore year and *that* was not for me. It was a waste of time.... I then considered psychology, and I took a course or two in psychology and I didn't think much of that either.... So then in my junior year I decided to major in history....

I joined a sorority but for two years did not live in a sorority house because I found in that time that non-sorority friends would not come to the house to see you.... Mickey Hahn — Emily Hahn, who is one of my friends.... I think Mickey would never have been a sorority person. She was too individualistic and she and two people who lived above me at Grady's, the Cushman sisters, and I used to do a great deal together, which Miss Grady didn't quite approve of — for instance, smoking...Emily Hahn — Mickey — at that time smoked cigars.... The Cushman sisters smoked pipes.... One of the people was a sociology major and at that time Little Italy had brothels and murders and so on down in South Madison.... And when this sociology major learned of some of the things that were going on, raids to come or investigations, we would sometimes go out after hours — the house was closed at ten — go out after hours to see what was going on. (You must have been a sore trial to Miss Grady.) She approved of my mother. My mother had come up and selected the room. We'd gone back to the Park Hotel where we were staying and mother wept and said, "You mean you'd leave a nice home for this."

But I found that it was a good place to come. I had a wonderful time here and it's made my life what it is.... As you know she [Emily Hahn] was an engineering major, but that she did only because she wanted to take a course in engineering and Sellery had said she couldn't get L and S credit for it so she said, "Ok, I'll move into the engineering college," which she did.

Madeleine Doran

I grew up in San Diego. I came from a reading family. My father was an Englishman.... I was always a studious child and my parents were always cooperative in anything I wanted to do. My father was very much interested when I went to high school and was taking algebra and geometry. He went right along with me.... In high school I had had a great interest in history and I think that was my first love, no doubt because of the influence of a very brilliant woman history teacher. But in those two years at San Diego State College I had two excellent teachers in English, one in freshman English who encouraged me to write — so I did some writing...and then a man who taught Shakespeare and who was just wonderful. He opened a new world to me in a way, so I just wanted to go into English and that settled that.

Teaching, Work, Colleagues

Ruth Glassow

We were interested in developing, within an individual, knowledge of one's motor self and being able to control it — to do what you wanted to do — and so we had certain courses that were required for graduate students. And this I think was lost through the merger [of men and women's physical education on the graduate level]. The men weren't willing to require those courses. I think they set up schedules in which a person would choose the area in which they were going to specialize and I'm talking now about the doctorate.... They lost the philosophy of physical education that the women had. We were interested in the human being as an intelligent person and sending women out with an understanding of themselves as possessing a motor mechanism which could be controlled and directed. That was the basis of our philosophy rather than the exercise for health. So we required specific courses.

We were opposed to intercollegiate sports for women because it took time and space. I think primarily it was that if you have a school team you concentrate on a small number of people who are highly skilled and the majority of students do not get the attention that they should. That, I think, was the primary basis for the opposition to intercollegiate sports.... Now... there is more space. The women's varsity teams do not practice or play in Lathrop Hall. They go to the field house and the annex, and they practice in the men's pool. But in a way this is still taking space because the required work and the professional course for women are badly in need of space. They are still in the building that was built in 1910, in Lathrop Hall.

I was given a full professorship in the late forties and at that time I think it was fairly rare that a person who lacked a doctoral degree was given a full professorship.... (You must have been aware that your salaries in physical education were not as high as the men's.) It never occurred to me. I enjoyed what I was doing and I managed to get along on what my salary was. Somehow the salaries were increased just about the time I retired or just after and I remember that the younger faculty members would say to me, "Oh, you had a terrible deal." I didn't have a terrible deal. I had work that I enjoyed and I never felt that I was poverty stricken. I got along on whatever I had.

...When it came to university policies, women were not put on university committees. I think one time I was on the committee which was re-

sponsible for planning lectures bringing outstanding people.... Miss Trilling was one of the few women who would speak in the general faculty meeting. First of all there were very few women who were a part of the faculty. But I can recall only Helen White, in the English department, and Miss Trilling who would speak. I went to faculty meetings.... I thought it was necessary for women.

...There were attempts to try to get faculty women together occasionally but it was never very satisfactory. As I recall...there was an attempt to get women to meet for lunch at the University Club.... (Did you go to any of these lunches?) Oh, yes. I became a member [of the University Club] because I thought it was a thing that women ought to do....I ate there often for lunch. The men had — there was a large table that took ten or twelve men and men from various departments would sit there. After Mr. [Lawrence] Rarick came to our [women's physical education] faculty, he would have lunch at the club, he would sit at that large table, and *he* knew the men from other departments in a way that I did not know them, and *he* would be on university committees — and I was conscious of that but it didn't bother me much, because I was always so busy I didn't want any more duties.

Thekla Nimmow

We were given the privilege of running the Armed Services Training Program during the war with [W. Freeman] Twaddell at the head. And those were — we who worked together at that time — we called them our golden years.... You couldn't come in on this program unless you'd had a language or two. So we got these army trainees from all over. And then we quickly divided them into what we called the Hyenas, the Roses, and the Violets. The Hyenas were so doggone bright we didn't know how to keep ahead of them.... We dreamed up new material for them to read each day.... The big thing was, they were so good they decided they wanted to read *Faust*. We said, no, there was no vocabulary, and we could not possibly teach them any *Faust* without vocabulary. What did they do? They got a little dachshund, a black one, around it they put a white banner, Miss Mephistopheles, tied it to the fire hydrant right outside our door. We capitulated. And that's when [Roe-Merrill] Heffner, [Helmut] Rehder, Twaddell, Thekla Nimmow, made Goethe's *Faust* vocabulary, Part I. You see why I had fun? (So you were really a member of the department?) I was a member of the department. And that's why I stayed. I think very few people realized why I stayed, with a little piddling income, but I stayed because I was having a whale of a good time. And I want to go on with this because it shows that that outfit really did appreciate women — if you stood up for yourself, not if you let yourself get pushed around. Well, we made the vocabulary and we taught them Goethe's *Faust*.... We did everything in high spirits, with the professors in control — I think I added to the high spirits, I don't know — anyway,...we did something that the kids enjoyed, we enjoyed, and then later on had marvellous repercussions because the whole language-teaching pattern changed from then on.

...But you see when people ask me how I manage...,with the sudden inflation, I say, "Because I've always managed." And had a thoroughly good time. From the time I was fifteen I was on a budget.... I've done that to this day and I've had a marvelous time managing my money, the little that I have,

and managing it — I always have a sinking fund. Let me tell you, the sinking fund, each month, is getting lower and lower.... But this is the fun of having been brought up — when I'm asked to talk to schools about depressions and so on — of having been brought up where you did one thing: you made do with what you had, and didn't even know you were deprived. It's a marvelous way to think about it. Really, I was in the depression of 1910 — when the Nimmow family had potatoes and salt the winter of 1910. And mushrooms, and vegetables. I still have good teeth. And I still like potatoes. And to this day I don't know what deprivation means.... They were wonderful years because everything we had was special. I wish we could get back the idea of sacrifice. Little things that I remember, like, for instance, the smelling of this doggone toasted cheese — or a piece of candy at birthdays and Christmas. I had a birthday in November, and Christmas was in December, and doggone it, it came too close...a piece of rock candy that you would just *cherish*.

Dorothy Knaplund

(I didn't know you'd taught at West High.) That was only to help out during the war.... The group of math classes had had five different substitutes by February. The head of the math department learned from my daughter that I had taught math at New Trier for a year, so she asked if I couldn't help out, and I was asked to take those sections for the second semester. That was 1943. At the same time Mark Ingraham asked some of us who'd had math in college to come and review college math and at the end of that semester then I was asked to give courses at the university. That was much easier, of course, because I could take one or two sections, whereas the high school work was a really rugged year. Full time, going at eight o'clock, bringing papers home at five, rationing — because of the war, no car to drive, and so on. And also, my husband was chairman of the department and we had house guests, we had two children in high school, the maid had gone into war work, and I had only a cleaning woman — but everyone was doing war work. But it was interesting, especially interesting when I did the teaching at the university. I enjoyed that because by then some GIs were being mustered out. (How long did you do that?) I think it was three or four years.... I started it in the fall of 1943 and I think I did it until about '47. By then there were enough graduate students to take this very elementary course which I was giving. (You didn't mind giving it up?) There were so many things I had in addition to do. I'd do other jobs. I worked on the census, the 1950 census. That was very interesting. That was a paid job, but not well paid. I served on the jury, I worked on various health and community service boards, and then I did a lot with my husband — I did work with him on his books, of course, a great deal, and articles. On our wedding trip Paul's first book came out so my initiation was reading proofs with him. Until his death, typing, editing, and proofreading filled a large share of my time.

Madeleine Doran

The classes at the time [late sixties] especially in things like literature would say, "Well, what has this got to do with our immediate problems?" Of course, literature doesn't have an immediate connection with current social and political problems, and I suppose on the whole shouldn't have — that is,

it's usually greater literature when it's not propaganda, when it's not directed sharply in one way. But nevertheless one is bound to think this question over from time to time and I felt that I should give the students as honest an answer as I could. So I reflected on the matter a long time and then some time later in the semester — and this I do remember was the first semester of 1968-69 — I said, "I'm going to talk about relevance and I'm going to do it by telling you a story. First I want to lay the background." [She described for the class her experience when she was in England in the mid-thirties during Hitler's rise to power, her visit to Germany in 1938, just before Munich, her reaction to the fall of France and to Dunkirk.] Early in the war Mr. [Merritt] Hughes, chair of the English department, said, "Why don't you join the WAACS?" "Well," I said, "I think, considering my temperament and everything else, I think I can be useful — more useful — here; people do have to stay and teach." Sometimes during that time it seemed rather remote to be teaching Chaucer or contemporary poetry or ancient poetry or novels — all kinds of things that didn't seem to have anything to do with the terrible urgencies of the war. . . . But as I thought about it at the time I reflected that this was what the war was about. We were — by staying here and continuing with the university tradition, continuing to keep the humanities going, literature and the arts and all the rest of it, as well as the sciences in a pure sense, not always directed towards atom bombs or something of that sort — we were what the war was about. It was the kind of world we would lose, our whole inheritance in the Western World, and that's what seemed to me most important. And when the GIs came back to the university after the war, it was one of the best undergraduate classes I have ever had — they wanted literature, and they didn't want propaganda, they just wanted to study and to work. They were serious about it, and I liked them very, very much.

And then, to cap this all, came a rather moving experience, something I didn't even wholly grasp at the moment. On State Street one day a young man spoke to me and said, "Do you remember me? I was in one of your sophomore literature classes before we went into the war." Well, yes, I remembered his face. I couldn't exactly place what class he'd been in. And he said, "I was on the *Yorktown*." I wasn't quick enough to remember just at that moment or to sort these things out, but I recalled later that the *Yorktown* was a carrier that went down in the Battle of the Coral Sea with the Japanese and was sunk, and of course many men, most of them lost their lives. So here was a young man who was saved. But he just said, "I was on the *Yorktown*." He went on to say, "You know, I remembered something you said when we were reading Conrad's *Victory*." Well, he didn't tell me what I had said, and I was sort of blank. He walked away and that was it. I don't know what I had said, I have no notion what I had said, never could remember. But I do remember — of course I know the book very well, and — the ending, about victory in death, is very moving. . . . Of course the point of it is that Conrad was there, and something, just something I said had opened up the meaning. . . . Anyhow, this seemed to me — well, it's the way in which literature is relevant at odd times, at strange times. I told this story and the students were very quiet and very solemn and much impressed. I don't know whether that impression lasted or not, but it's worth stating, I think, because that whole experience of the war was what made me able to articulate something

about the meaning of the humanities and to see why we have to keep doing them and resist direct and immediate political pressures in teaching.

I did have a close relationship with the three women who were here — Miss White, Miss Wallerstein, and Miss Wales. They were very friendly and they more or less, in a quiet, social way, adopted me. We used to have dinner together at one of their apartments every week and then we would often read to each other. Sometimes we read Shakespeare and sometimes we read something else. Sometimes I read them my poetry.... Miss Wallerstein and Miss White always said the best way to influence people — the best way to get a thing that you don't quite approve of going right is to join it. Now both of those women joined the union — the AFL branch at the university which was begun in those years. As Miss White said, "You know, if you don't like what they're doing...you can't complain unless you're a member and have a voice in the policy." That was her great idea. Ruth just joined out of sheer principle because she believed in the idea. Her father was a quite well known attorney in Philadelphia; he had been involved in the Reed case, a great case of civil liberties, and had defended the man.... And so she was a member of the Civil Liberties Union and always very strongly principled. Miss Wales was a pacifist and in the First World War had been on the Peace Ship that went to Norway so she was full of causes too....

Miss Wallerstein was a very handsome woman — she was always stylish — and she was a fine teacher. She had a very refined and subtle mind — too subtle for many of us to follow. She made inner leaps in connections of ideas, and she always got some of the best graduate students. Only the best would understand her. She went with them, and they went with her...because of this very subtle mind. She was also an emotional person, but controlled; still, you know, a woman with great range of feeling and emotion, and as I said, a woman of great principle. She acted on her principles, too....

Miss White had a different kind of intelligence altogether, though with just as sharp a mind — but not quite...the same sort of especially subtle sensibility and acuteness that Miss Wallerstein had. Miss White had great literary gifts as well, you know, she wrote novels as well as scholarly works. But she was a woman who liked to reach out and was very good at administration, getting into all kinds of issues and things...and she was the right hand of the administration here whenever they needed things done. Quietly. But she always was consulted on things; she was that sort of universal woman in many ways. And yet she always appeared relaxed, she never was in a hurry. Sometimes, socially, she seemed bland and sort of vague and everybody'd think what a nice, what a soft, gentle person she was, but steel underneath, you know. When an issue came up and you were really talking business, Miss White was just like a razor, right to the issue. So they were different in that way, altogether. She was a very great woman, both of them were.

...Advancement was very slow at Wisconsin.... For instance, after an instructorship of three years at Wellesley, I had an instructorship of four years at Wisconsin, and then I had six years as assistant professor — in other words, two terms at that rank, and then nearly two more terms as associate professor before I finally got a professorship. (The men do seem to have gone ahead faster.) They may have. I put that [the matter of promotion and salary] out of my mind simply because I didn't want to expend my nervous energy on

being discontented or on trying to find out what was going on. If I *was* getting less than my peers, I decided that I'd rather not know it, and I think it was probably a wise thing in the end, because there's nothing worse, there really is nothing worse, than envy, nothing more destructive that I know of. I just felt that I couldn't afford it.... I did get impatient at times and I was troubled, but at some point in this slow stage I decided that I was not going to worry about it, and that I would do what my graduate professor said, "Just saw wood." So I sawed wood.... The issue [of women] would come up once in a while, in a discussion. Miss Wallerstein, I think, made more of it than anyone else — and perhaps with rightness, because I think her promotions and salary lagged for a time.... And she was the one who might have been most conscious of it. Miss White in a different way was conscious of it as an issue because, as I think I mentioned to you, she said, "We'd better get another woman in this department before very long because when Miss Wallerstein's gone, and when I go, then there'll only be you, and the men are apt to forget." But it wasn't an activist kind of thing because none of us was like that, none of us — we just knew the problem was something one had to work at, but one thought it would take care of itself in due course.

Ruth Wallerstein was very fierce about the attitude to women at the University Club. In fact she resigned from the club when they wouldn't provide a *New York Times* for the ladies' lounge, because she was a woman of great principle and this was a principle — that we should have equal access to the paper. And no woman ever walked across into the men's reading room — that was their lounge. Nobody said we couldn't, but you just didn't. She said, "That's all right, but I don't see why we have to have nothing about but *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* and the *New Yorker*. Why can't we have the *New York Times* every day?" Well, the board in its wisdom decided they couldn't afford the money for it and she told them she'd resign if they didn't. They didn't and she resigned. Ruth would get herself out on a limb. Miss White wouldn't have done that. She'd have made sounds and blandishments and one thing or another.

Ruth Henderson

I taught practically every summer. I got money for it.... Then I managed besides teaching to collaborate with another woman, in Cleveland, in writing two texts, one for junior high school and one for senior high school.... I also taught an extension course in Milwaukee, I remember, one semester, and commuted back and forth.... I was not only in the Department of Home Economics. I was considered in the Department of Home Economics and the Department of Education. I was like all of Gaul — divided into three parts. I had charge of the student teaching as well as teaching one or two classes at the school itself. I suppose it was to prove that I could teach — I don't know.

I think, from the standpoint of size, Miss Marlatt frightened people.[4] I was short and she was tall. And I think she had firm convictions on things, and I think it was those firm convictions that carried her through and that carried the department through. I began to realize it afterwards. My appreciation of Miss Marlatt grew as I stayed in the department. At first her outspoken frankness and what seemed to be her dictatorial authority were rather difficult to take. I think it was rather difficult for her faculty to take, too. She was usually

right when you came back to it. But at first it seemed hard. Later on, as the years went on, I began to see, underneath, her true worth: her generosity, her kindness, her wonderful sense of humor. She was a talented woman in many fields. She was a talented painter.... I felt that at times, because of her position, she was a rather lonely person, that people stood in awe of her a little bit. But I've known such wonderful things she has done for girls — where they would be ready to go out and take a position and they didn't have the clothes to go, and she would have Miss Manning, with whom I lived — Miss Manning was head of the clothing department — go and outfit this girl and tell the girl she could pay her back just anytime, just any number of years.

Miss [Frances] Zuill was a more approachable person, and an easier person with whom to work.[4] I think all of her faculty felt that. She carried a heavy load. I'm not sure but what she had three building projects on when she was a staff member or head of the department. You see, she did the home management house and the extension part of the building, the extended wing of the building, when she was a faculty member — just as soon as she became a faculty member — and they were finished during her term of office. She was very well liked by the students.

...I never have gone out strong for women's rights. I mean, I wouldn't go out in the street. I have felt that there are some things that were obviously unfair. We could go out and give lectures or talks and we weren't allowed to receive any compensation for it. The School of Education men could go out, particularly when it came around to graduation time, and could give all sorts of graduation talks and get compensation for that, for every talk. And that was perfectly legitimate.... Many of the women felt that it was very unfair.... But I can see now that people are feeling the same way in the university — the women. (Well, they're perhaps making a little more noise about it.) Well, I don't know. I didn't think about fussing about it, I guess. I just thought it was coming to me, that I was supposed to — it was just normal and natural, and I was used to work. I wasn't afraid of work.... Because I taught in summers. You see, if you turned in your pay for four summers you got a full year off for travel. (I see. This was in lieu of sort of a sabbatical program.) Oh, yes, this was in lieu of a sabbatical. They never did give us a sabbatical here. Some universities did. My travels led me around South America, Europe several times, Mediterranean cruises and so on, various Eastern countries. And after I retired the desire was so strong to travel that I just kept on and did quite an extensive tour to the Orient, and I went to Greece again because I had — well, that's another story.[5]

Elizabeth Brandeis

I worked out a method of giving the students participation in what was happening in the legislature.... In the years that the legislature was in session each student had a bill in the field of labor or social security which he or she followed: attended the hearings on it, reported the hearings in class, and wrote a brief report at the end of the semester on what the bill was, how it would change the statute if it passed, and how far it had gotten in the legislature. Thus the students learned both how to read statutes — it's almost like learning to read a foreign language — and how the legislature functions.

In class we also conducted mock hearings on pending federal bills. Since we couldn't go to Washington to attend hearings we set up our own hearings,

with some students representing proponents and some opponents of a pending bill, and the committee to conduct a hearing and ask them questions, and then the whole class operating as, perhaps we would call it the Senate, would ask questions, if they chose, of the proponents and opponents and then vote on the proposed bill. So the course was quite lively and certainly tied in with the real world of labor legislation, both state and federal.

To run this course kept me on my toes. I had to keep up to date and keep track of all these bills. Frequently I was helped as far as the legislature was concerned by finding that one student in the class had a job down in the legislature. There were jobs during legislative sessions, working for committees of the legislature. It was very handy if I had a student who was down there every day anyway and he could pick up the bills and hearing calendars and so on. If not, I had to do that myself because mostly I did not have an assistant in this course, although the course got pretty large. I preferred to handle the quiz sections myself. However, toward the end I did have an assistant who helped grade and could do some of the administrative chores, and he would go down to the legislature every week and pick up all the new bills and then we would give them out to students. Students would then, as I said, be responsible each for his bill and follow it and find out how far it got in the legislature. Most of them never got through. Occasionally one or two bills we had went through. But in any case, they learned what the procedures were which a bill followed in the legislature. Labor Legislation was not an easy course. Occasionally I had students tell me, "I wanted to take that course but it sounded too tough."

. . . I was certainly discriminated against on the basis of pay. If I compared myself, double my salary was less than the salary of most of my colleagues. Promotionwise I also moved very slowly. I was technically called a lecturer when I first started out, with the rank of assistant professor. I said I didn't care, as long as I was teaching courses independently. That is what I was interested in. But I got rather griped by the fact that I was rated as an assistant professor because in our department when a department meeting got to a certain point they would say, "Well, now we will have a meeting just of the executive committee of the department," which meant that the assistant professors and instructors who were there got up and left, and I got sort of tired of getting up and leaving with them. So I told Mr. [Edwin] Witte, who was chairman of the department, that I was getting fed up with being classed with the young people, which I wasn't any more. So he said he thought I was quite correct and that he would propose to the department that they make me a lecturer with the rank of associate professor. I was perfectly satisfied with that, but after some years Ed Young was chairman of the department and he said, "That is ridiculous after the years that you have worked in this department," so they put a promotion through. So I guess I wound up my life as lecturer with the rank of full professor, and the lecturer part got sort of forgotten. I was regarded as a full professor in the department.

. . . I think it is somewhat surprising, considering that I always taught part time really, that I had quite a lot of committee assignments on interesting committees. . . . In the College of Letters and Science I served on the executive committee. I don't think they have such a thing now. Our chief job was to hear appeals from students who had been dropped by the deans for poor work and their grades were low. . . . I also served a term on the University

Committee. It was not quite as arduous as it is today, but it had some interesting problems. That was, as it is today, an elected committee. Then there was a special committee to run a special major, an interdepartmental major called American Institutions, and we had a lot of fun with that, figuring out the courses in various departments and the proper requirements for an American Institutions major. And then there was another special committee to run an interdisciplinary course called Contemporary Trends.

. . . I believe my arrangement with the university represented a sort of middle way between just homemaking and a full-time career added to homemaking, which so many women engage in today. I don't know how they can do it. It seems to me pretty strenuous as I look at them now. I had a busy enough life, but I think part-time teaching added to homemaking is a splendid combination. It is practical and, I believe, represents what many women would choose as ideal if they could get it. I am hopeful that the women's liberation movement will accept it as one style of living that women should have the opportunity to choose. Some women may well prefer it. They should not be regarded as failures or as discriminated against.

Notes to Chapter 19

1. Isaiah Weaver, father of Warren Weaver.
2. Julia Grace Wales taught in the English Department from 1909 to 1947, Helen C. White from 1919 to 1967, and Ruth C. Wallerstein from 1920 to 1958. Helen White was chair of the English department from 1955 to 1958 and from 1961 to 1965.
3. Abby L. Marlatt was director of the Department of Home Economics from 1909 to 1939.
4. Frances Zuill was director of the Department of Home Economics from 1939 to 1951, when the department became a school. From 1951 to 1961 she was the dean of the School of Home Economics and associate dean of the College of Agriculture.
5. Ruth Henderson taught in Athens in 1953-54 and in Baghdad in 1957-58.

Material cited in this chapter is from the following interviews.

Interviewed by Donna Taylor

Elizabeth Brandeis	October 1972	2 1/4 hours	Cassette	Transcribed
Ruth Henderson	November 1972	2 1/4 hours	Cassette	Transcribed

Interviewed by Laura Small

Ruth Glassow	March 1976	4 hours	Cassette
Thekla Nimmow	March 1976	3 hours	Cassette
Dorothy Knaplund	March 1977	4 hours	Reel
Madeleine Doran	June 1977	2 1/2 hours	Reel

Tapes and transcripts are in the UW Archives, Room 443F, Memorial Library.

For tapes not transcribed, a tape index lists the contents of the tape.

CONTRIBUTORS

Cornell, Helen M.: B.S., M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Department of English, UW-Stevens Point

Droste, Jean: B.S., M.A.; Vice President of Circleville Board of Education, Homemaker, Ohio

Foss, Jean L.: Ph.D.; Assistant Vice Chancellor and Professor, Department of Physical Education, UW-La Crosse

Greathouse, Kathy: B.S.; Information Coordinator, Office of Continuing Education Programs, UW-Madison

Harycki, Marcia: B.A., M.S.; Industrial Arts Teacher, Chippewa Falls Area Middle School, Chippewa Falls, WI

Krouse, Agate Nesaule: B.A., M.A., Ph.D.; Professor, Department of English, Coordinator of Women's Studies, UW-Whitewater

Krouse, Harry: B.S., M.A., Ph.D.; Professor and Chair, Department of English, UW-Whitewater

Langill, Ellen D.: B.A., M.A., Ph.D.; Assistant Professor, History, Carroll College

Last, Ellen: B.A., M.A.; Lecturer, Department of English, UW-Eau Claire

Marks, Elaine: B.A., M.A., Ph.D.; Director of the Women's Studies Research Center, Women's Studies Program, UW-Madison

McDonald, Bonnie: B.S., M.S., Ph.D.; Professor, School of Home Economics, Director of Coordinated Undergraduate Program in Dietetics, UW-Stevens Point

Mertens, Patricia: B.S., M.S.; Educational Placement Counselor, UW-La Crosse

Pillinger, Barbara Baxter: B.S., M.S., Ph.D.; Assistant Vice President, Associate Professor, University of Minnesota

Remley, Mary L.: B.S., M.Ed., Ph.D.; Associate Professor, Department of Physical Education, Indiana University

Roberts, Audrey: B.A., M.A., Ph.D.; Lecturer, Department of English, UW-Whitewater

Small, Laura: B.A., M.A.; Interviewer, Oral History Project, Archives, UW-Madison

Taylor, Donna: B.A.; Director, Oral History Project, Archives, UW-Madison

Wood, Vivian: B.A., M.A., Ph.D.; Professor, School of Social Work, UW-Madison

Holmes, Elisabeth K.: B.A., M.A.; Emeritus Professor, Department of English, UW-Milwaukee